Noorhaidi Hasan

Islamic Literatures Of The Millennials

Transmission, Appropriation, and Contestation

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Preface

The collective effort to produce this book began from an instantaneous decision by the end of our research on the millennials' Islamic literatures, which is part of Convey Indonesia's program initiated by Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta along with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). This thematically relevant and interesting research had too much potential to be wasted only on mere reports and policy briefs, especially for scholars with strong interest in diffusing knowledge. Therefore, the associated parties of this research project, i.e. UIN Sunan Kalijaga Graduate Department, Pusat Pengkajian Islam, Demokrasi dan Perdamaian (PusPIDeP) Yogyakarta, Project Management Unit (PMU) CONVEY and PPIM Jakarta, agreed to turn the research findings into a book. A team of contributors was immediately established to quickly read and analyse the research report and transform it into a ready-to-publish manuscript.

This research began in June 2017 after PMU CONVEY and PPIM Jakarta authorised the proposal submitted by UIN Sunan Kalijaga Graduate Department and PusPIDeP Yogyakarta. To sharpen the proposal and devise research instruments, we organised a workshop by inviting several speakers, i.e. Martin Slama, Hilman Latief, Din Wahid and Saiful Umam. Sixteen locations were identified to represent the nexus between the millennials, high school and college students and Islamism in Indonesia, which included: Medan, Padang, Pekanbaru, Bogor, Bandung, Surakarta, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Jember, Pontianak, Banjarmasin, Makassar, Palu, Ambon, Denpasar and Mataram. We then identified the map of Islamic literatures that encircled Indonesian millennials in those cities.

The research involved 16 main researchers and 32 local assistant researchers. The main researchers came from different backgrounds belonging to the cluster of Islamic and social studies: Islamic Politics, Urban Muslim Anthropology, Interfaith Study, Al-Quran and Hadiths Study, Middle-East Study, Salafism, Minority Study, and Islamic Law. We deployed 2 researchers to each region--1 main researcher as the person in charge to be assisted by 1 other researcher--as well as 2 local assistant researchers. The overall field research took 3 months to complete. The data finding of each region was processed by the main researcher and then discussed intensively with all researchers in many occasions. To sharpen the analysis, we organised a research-findings workshop, which was attended by several speakers including Fuad Jabali, Ali Munhanif, and Hew Wai Weng. The whole process resulted in 16 research reports from each region plus 16 policy briefs.

The main purpose of this research is to map the Islamic literatures that are distributed to and read by the millennials, particularly high school and college students. Another purpose of this research is to see the acceptance of many different Islamic literatures by several orientation: ideology, genre, approach tendency, style and others among the millennials. We focus on the millennials after considering the fact that they are the very representation of youth generation

whose aspiration, desire and positioning will decide the future of Indonesia.

This research was supposed to be ended in December 2017. However, due to several technical problems and field research dynamics, it was extended for a month and ended in late January 2018. The result of this research was disseminated in 5 cities: Medan, Jakarta, Mataram, Banjarmasin and Yogyakarta, by inviting several speakers such as Prof. Amin Abdullah, Prof. Jamhari Makruf, Inaya Rahkmani, Saiful Umam, Prof. Hasan Asari, Masnun Tahir, Muhammad Nasir, Prof. Mujibburahman, Ali Munhanif, Waryono Abdul Ghafur, Hairus Salim and Nendra Primonik. This dissemination was important, not only to share research findings, but also to obtain feedback from experts, education practitioners, and the society in general. The feedback and input from them became an important consideration in the production of the report and this book.

This volume attempts to aim at the big and thematic idea in regard to the millennials' Islamic literatures based on the rich data and dynamic from each region. The authors were asked to discuss the literature aspect of formal Islam education in high school and college, the discourse it produced, its dissemination and distribution pattern, appropriation and consumption as well as emerging alternative narratives to balance the prevalent Islamist discourse. This book is expected to contribute in reading the transmission, appropriation and contestation of Islamic literatures distributed to and consumed by Indonesian millennials.

I wish to express my gratitude to the 16 researchers who are involved and have dedicated their time and mind for this research. They are Muhammad Yunus (Medan), Euis Nurlaelawati (Padang), Najib Kailani (Pekanbaru), Roma Ulinnuha (Bogor), Suhadi & Siti Khodijah Nurul Aula (Bandung) Noorhaidi Hasan (Solo), Suhadi (Yogyakarta), Ibnu Burdah (Surabaya), Munirul Ikhwan (Jember), Sunarwoto (Pontianak), Ahmad Rafiq (Banjarmasin), Moch Nur Ichwan (Denpasar), Rofah Muzakir (Mataram), Nina Mariani Noor (Ambon), Achmad Uzair (Palu) and Fosa Sarassina (Makassar).

I also wish to extend my gratitude to the research assistants who have

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Obviously, I want to express my endless appreciation and gratitude to CONVEY Indonesia and PPIM Jakarta who have put their trust in us to act as a partner in the big and phenomenal program titled Convey, *Enhancing the Role of Religious Education in Countering Violent Extremism in Indonesia*. Several other names that I would like to mention include Jamhari Ma'ruf, Saiful Umam, Fuad Jabali, Ali Munhanif, Ismatu Ropi, Didin Syafrudin, Din Wahid, and Jajang Jahroni, as well as several staff members of Project Management Unit (PMU) CONVEY Indonesia who have helped us a lot in the technical affairs of this research: Syamsul Tarigan, Ridwansyah, Utami Sandyarani, Jaya Dani Mulyanto, Narsi, Abdalla, Hani Samantha, and other names that I cannot mention one by one.

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Noorhaidi Hasan
Research Coordinator
Director of UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta
Graduate Department

List of Contributors

Noorhaidi Hasan is a professor in Islam and politics who currently serves as Director of UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department. His diverse research interest is interdisciplinary, which includes themes such as Salafism, Islamic radicalism, identity politics and youth generation. He obtained his Ph.D from Utrecth University (2005). Noohaidi is quite a productive scholar. His publications are, among others, *Laskar Jihad: Islam, Militancy and the Quest for Identity in Post-New Order Indonesia* (2006), *The Salafi Movement in Indonesia: Transnational Dynamics and Local DevelopmentPost-Islamist Politics in Indonesia* (2007) and *Funky Teenagers Love God: Islam and Youth Activism in Post* (2016).

Suhadi Cholil is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta

Graduate Department. His research interest is interfaith study. Suhadi finished his doctoral program at Radbout University Nijmegen of Holland in Inter-Religious Studies (2014). His publications are, among others, *I Come from a Pancasila Family: A Discursive Study on Muslim-Christian Identity Transformation in Indonesian Post-Reformasi Era* (2014), *Protecting the Sacred: An Analysis of Local Perspectives on Holy Site Protection in Four Areas in Indonesia* (2016), and *Freedom of Religion or Belief in Indonesia and the Challenge of Muslim Exceptionalism* (2010).

Munirul Ikhwan is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department. His research interest includes Al-Quran Study and its interpretations, Islamic and Muslim Society study, and Islamic intellectual history. He obtained his Ph.D. in Islamic Study from Freie Universität Berlin (2015). His publications are, among others, *Tafsir Alquran dan Perkembangan Zaman: Merekonstruksi Konteks dan Menemukan Makna* (2016), *Fī Taḥaddī al-Daula: "al-Tarjama al-Tafsīriyya "fī Muwājahat al-Khiṭāb al-Dīnī al-Rasmī li al-Daula al-Indūnīsiyya* (2015) and *Western Studies of Qur'anic Narratives: from the Historical Orientation into the Literary Analysis* (2010).

Moch Nur Ichwan is a full-time lecturer and Coordinator of the Doctoral Program in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department. His research interest includes the practice and thought of Islamic politics in Indonesia, the social and political role of Islamic scholars, post-conflict Islam in Aceh, religious governance, and Islamic hermeneutics. He obtained his Ph.D. in Religious Study and Islamic Politics from Tilburg University (2006). Nur Ichwan is quite a productive scholar who has published, among others, *Faith, Ethnicity, and Illiberal Citisenship: Authority, Identity, and Religious "Others" in Aceh's Border Areas* (2017), *Neo-Sufism, Shari'atism, and Ulama Politics: Abuya Shaykh Amran Waly and Tauhid-Tasawuf Movement in Post-Conflict Aceh* (2016), and *Towards a Puritanical Moderate Islam:*

Majelis Ulama Indonesia and the Politics of Religious Orthodoxy (2013).

Najib Kailani is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department. His research interest includes urban Muslim anthropology and youth literacy. He obtained his Ph.D. from University of New South Wales (UNSW) of Australia (2015). Among his publications are *Forum Lingkar Pena and Muslim Youth in Contemporary Indonesia* (2012), *Politik Ruang Publik Sekolah: Kontestasi dan Negosiasi di SMUN Yogyakarta* (together with Hairus Salim HS and Nikmal Azekiyah, 2011) and *Muslimising Indonesian Youths: The Tarbiyah Moral and Cultural Movement in Contemporary Indonesia* (2010).

Ahmad Rafiq is a full-time lecturer and Secretary of the Doctoral Program in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department. His research interest includes the Quranic practice, thought and hermeneutics. He obtained his Ph.D. from Temple University (2014).

Ibnu Burdah is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department. His research interest includes Middle-East study, Islamic Politics, Arabic, Religion Study, and Islamic Thoughts. He obtained his doctoral degree from Gajah Mada University of Yogyakarta. Ibnu Burdah is quite productive in producing books, articles, journals and articles in mass media. Some of his works are, among others, *Islam Kontemporer: Revolusi dan Demokratisasi* (2014), *KonflikTimur Tengah: Aktor, Isu, dan Dimensi Konflik* (2008), and *Indonesian Muslim's Perception of Jews* (2010)

List of Researchers

Mohammad Yunus is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department with a doctoral degree from Al-Azhar University of Cairo (2016).

Euis Nurlaelawati is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department with a Ph.D. from Utrecht University (2007).

Najib Kailani is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department and obtained his Ph.D. from University of New South Wales (UNSW) of Australia (2015).

Roma Ulinnuha is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department and obtained his doctoral degree

from ICRS Gajah Mada University of Yogyakarta (2013).

Siti Khodijah Nurul Aula is a postgraduate student in Interfaith Study of UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Department.

Noorhaidi Hasan is a professor of Islam and politics and obtained his Ph.D. from Utrecht University (2005).

Suhadi Cholil is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department and obtained his Ph.D. from Radboud University Nijmegen of Holland (2014).

Sunarwoto is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department and obtained his Ph.D. from Tilburg University (2015).

Ahmad Rafiq is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department and obtained his doctoral degree from Gajah Mada University of Yogyakarta (2007).

Munirul Ikhwan is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department and obtained his Ph.D. in Islamic Study from Freie Universität Berlin (2015).

Moch Nur Ichwan is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department and obtained his Ph.D. from Tilburg University (2006).

Ro'fah is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department and obtained her Ph.D. from McGill University (2011).

Rr. Fosa Sarassina is a full-time lecturer in the Vocational Faculty of UGM and obtained her doctoral degree from Utara University of Malaysia (2015).

Achmad Uzair is a full-time lecturer in Social and Humanities Faculty of UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta with a Ph.D. degree from Flinders University (2015).

Nina Mariani Noor is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department and obtained her doctoral degree from ICRS Gajah Mada University of Yogyakarta (2016).

CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Towards Popular Islamism

Noorhaidi Hasan

In April 2017, a short video depicting hundreds of college students taking a solemn oath to establish an Islamic empire and enforce Islamic sharia in Indonesia became a trending topic on the social media. Those students were members of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) who organised that act in Bogor Agricultural University (IPB), one most prominent university in Indonesia.

HTI, an Islamist movement popular among college students, also organises its activities in many other campuses. Examples include Bandung Institute of Technology, University of Indonesia, Gadjah Mada University, Brawijaya University, and Hasanuddin University, which have been known since 1980s to be the fertile ground for the diffusion of Tarbiyah Influence and the seed of Muslim Brotherhood ideology. In these top-graduate-maker campuses, da'wah activists (Islamic missionaries) recruit young

cadres from among the students and organise many Islamic events, which include Al-Quran reading, *halaqah*, *daurah*, book discussions, and Islamic art festivals. Sometimes they go public to organise demonstrations – voicing their concerns on such issues as morality, politics, religion and the Middle-East, or demanding full implementation of the Sharia (Islamic law).

The diffusion of Islamist movement's influence among students is intertwined with the context of da'wah campus movement in Indonesia (Kailani, 2009). This is related to the appearance of Lembaga Dakwah Kampus (LDK), which manages to penetrate almost all of essential arenas in university through the management of Islamic Assistance (AAI) program, later renamed into Islamic Accompaniment (IRE). This program is part of Islam Religion studies for first year students. Through IRE, da'wah is distributed and new cadres are recruited to sustain the movement. The success of this program has caused da'wah activists in campus to consider the importance of expanding their activities to high school students. By following the same IRE pattern as used in campuses, the da'wah activists penetrate high schools through Rohis (a muslim organisation for high school students) and pioneer the Islamic mentoring program.

At the very least, three patterns are used by da'wah activists in campus to expand their influence among high school students. *First*, through the alumni network that is directly involved with the management of Rohis in several prominent schools. This pattern is the most significant factor that contributes to the massive da'wah movement in high schools. *Second*, the da'wah activists in campus approach Rohis committees by inviting them to Islamic events organised in certain mosques. The participation of Rohis activists in Al-Quran reading events organised by campus da'wah activists captivates them enough to make them persuade their school to invite those da'wah activists to be their mentor in the school. *Third*, through school's own request to LDK to provide volunteers that can manage Islamic mentoring in the school (Kailani, 2009; Salim, Kailani, Azekiyah, 2010; Fanani, 2011; Saluz, 2012).

The massive influence of Islamist movement among high school and college students has been underlined in MAARIF Institute's research in 2011 in 50 high schools located in Pandeglang, Cianjur, Yogyakarta and Solo. The mapping conducted by this institution shows the rampant penetration of Islamist groups to high schools, from the extremists who refuse Pancasila to groups that advocate for the implementation of Islamic sharia (Fanani, 2011). The finding from MAARIF Institute is strengthened by the 2012 survey from Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Perdamaian (LaKIP) on 100 students in Jakarta, which shows their huge support to the persecution and violence on minorities, as well as their sympathy to terrorists. Similarly, Islam Education teachers in high schools also have a tendency to support the implementation of Sharia and exclusive Islamism ideology, despite accepting Pancasila as the nation's *raison d'être* (PPIM, 2016). The strong influence of Islamism ideology can also be seen among college students. In fact, many of them are important actors and prominent activists of Islamist movement that has flourished since the fall of Suharto, which includes Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia (KAMMI), HTI and Salafi (Damanik, 2002; Rosyad, 2006; Karim, 2006).

The slogan "*Islam is the only solution*" has echoed for a long time among high school and college students. This slogan is inseparable with the gait of Muslim Brotherhood, the main Islamic political movement in the Islamic world. Founded by Hasan al-Banna (1906-1949) in Egypt in 1923, this pro-caliphate and sharia movement works very closely with the Jami'at-i Islami, founded by Abul A'la al-Mawdudi (1903-1978), to call for Islamic revolution. While Jami'at-I Islami grew strong in Indo-Pakistani region, Muslim Brotherhood quickly flourished in almost every part of the Middle-Eastern region. The role of Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966) was also important in navigating the direction of Islamic politics pioneered by Hasan al-Banna and Abul A'la al-Mawdudi. He wrote many influential papers to describe the dream of establishing a new world order at all cost, including the use

of violence. His magnum opus, *Ma'alim fi'l-Tariq*, is a classic literature referred to by many Islamists in the whole world. Muslim Brotherhood paved the way for the creation of several smaller radical groups, including Jihad Islam, Jama'ah Islamiyah, and Jama'at al-Takfir wa-l-Hijrah. Sayyid Qutb has also inspired other Islamic groups such as Hizbut Tahrir and Hamas in Palestine, Hizbullah in Lebanon, FIS (Front Islamiue du Salut) in Aljazair, and Salafi Movement in Saudi Arabia (Roy, 1996; Kepel, 2002). His legacies can be clearly seen in jihadist movements emerging in the last two decades, such as the transnational al-Qaeda and other groups with similar ideological affinity like Jamaah Islamiyah in Indonesia, Abu Sayyaf in South Philippines, and ISIS in Syria and Iraq.

The diffusion of Muslim Brotherhood's influence in universities in Indonesia can be traced back to the late 1960s. Figures from Masyumi, Indonesia's first Islamic political party, decided to use da'wah as an alternative for their movement after the rise of Suharto in the New Order. Thus Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII) was established in 1967 to be the official representation of Rabitat al-'Alam al-Islami, a Jeddah-based agent to spread the influence of transnational Islamic movement (Hasan, 2007). At that time, Saudi Arabia was opening their door for political exiles of Muslim Brotherhood from Egypt in order to establish itself as the centreand guardian of the Islamic world. Through DDII, ideological literatures from Muslim Brotherhood, such as works by Hasan al-Banna, Abul A'la al-Mawdudi, Sayyid Qutb, Sayyid Hawwa and Mustafa al-Siba'i, entered Indonesia.

For strategic reasons DDII decided to focus their da'wah to college students. Muhammad Natsir, founder and main figure of DDII, personally supported the establishment of programs such as Latihan Mujahid Dakwah (Jihadist' Da'wah Training), Islam Mentoring, and Focused Islamic Study, with Salman Mosque in ITB as their headquarters. These programs soon developed models for Islamic activism in other universities.

DDII was also active in sponsoring the development of campus mosques and Islamic Centers, coupled with their da'wah programs widely known as "Bina Masjid Kampus (Guiding Campus Mosques)."

The New Order's policy to restrict campus activism through NKK-BKK, which was later strengthened by the implementation of *asas tunggal* (the single principle), also contributed to the development of da'wah in campus. Then, the Iranian revolution in 1979 became a culmination point, as the popularity of Ayatollah Khomeini, Murtada Mutahhari, and Ali Shariati among the students rose to the roof (Rosyad, 2006). Saudi Arabia attempted to suppress Iran's influence by intensively spreading Wahabism, which is known to be very much against the Shia.

At the beginning, Muslim Brotherhood flourished in universities under the name of *Harakah Tarbiyah* (Aziz et. Al., 1989). Most of their advocates were alumni of the Middle Easter universities, such as Abu Ridho or Abdi Sumaiti and Rahmat Abdullah. Through the cell-system recruitment pattern, this movement managed to grow very fast. *Halaqah* and *daurah* were held in member's houses, flats, and other clandestine places. Each cell or *usrah* consisted of 10 to 20 members under the leadership of a *murabbi* (instructor). Every member in each cell was encouraged to recruit new members. The diffusion of Muslim Brotherhood was soon followed by other Islamist movements.

The Hizbut Tahrir, which was founded by Taqiy al-Din al-Nabhani in Palestine in 1953, also contributed to Islamism activities in campus after its introduction by 'Abd al-Rahman al-Baghdadi in the 1980s (Ahnaf, 2011). Similar to Muslim Brotherhood, he also used the clandestine cell-system recruitment pattern. Al-Baghdadi began his attempt to promote this movement after he got his position as a lecturer in Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Islam dan Bahasa Arab (LIPIA) and was invited by Abdullah Nuh to lecture in Pesantren Al-Ghazali of Bogor. He organised *halaqahs* and *daurahs* in al-Ghifari Mosque in IPB and Ibnu Khaldun University

Mosque, in order to introduce Hizbut Tahrir's ideology to students. Due to the persistence of its early advocates, Hizbut Tahrir managed to recruit many talented students, especially those active in Lembaga Dakwah Kampus, which later became the main activists for the movement, such as Muhammad al-Khattat and Ismail Yusanto. Through this network, the movement rapidly grew and spread to Padjajaran University, Gadjah Mada University, Airlangga University, Brawijaya University and Hasanuddin University. After the fall of Suharto, the movement declared itself under the name of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI).

The Salafi movement also has contributed to Islamic activism in Indonesia since mid-1980s after the appearance of caped (*jalabiyyah*) and bearded (*lihyah*) youth wearing turban (*imamah*) and ¾ pants (*isbal*), as well as women wearing wide black clothing and face mask (*niqab*) in the public space. They explicitly called themselves as the "Salafi," introducing rigid variants of Islam, focusing on the cleansing of faith and exclusive religious practices that are cladimed to follow the virtues of *Salaf-al-Salih*, the first generation of Muslim. Every seemingly-simple problem always appears in their daily discourse. Earlier, they refused any forms of political activism (*hizbiyya*), which they believed to be blasphemous (*bid'ah*), and preferred to use apolitical quietism approach (Hasan, 2007).

By advocating for Salafi as a da'wah movement, they attempted to create a clear separating line from other societies, namely by grouping themselves exclusively within communality bonds like an enclave. Due to the change in social and political configuration in Indonesia during the last two decades, Salafi's expansion has contributed to the penetration of Islam variant that resembles a rigid cultural fortress known as *abangan*, although this is getting weakened due to the shift in political-economic constellation.

These transnational Islamist movements have had to compete with underground domestic movement that consists of *usrah* groups widely

known as NII (Negara Islam Indonesia/Islamic State of Indonesia). This group has evolved from DI/TII, which emerged in West Java in 1949. Their cause is to establish an Islamic state through revolutionary and militant political strategy, by firstly creating *Jamaah Islamiyah* (Solahudin, 2013). Due to the contact between its advocates and Muslim Brotherhood ideas, NII's activities also follow Muslim Brotherhood's pattern. However, NII's cells are organised more secretively. At the beginning, NII grew as a small group of college students in Yogyakarta, before spreading to other cities in Indonesia. One of the most important nodes of NII movement is Pesantren Al-Mukmin Ngruki founded by Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir. They are both known as the founding fathers of Jamaah Islamiyah, a jihadist organisation that operates in Southeast Asia.

Outside of political factors, the success of Islamist movement in infiltrating college and high school students has pretty much intertwined with uncertainties in dealing with structural problems and uncertain future. The expansion of communication technology, triggered by the discovery of internet, has collapsed special and social distance that eventually exacerbates the uncertainty. The most obvious impact of this change was felt by the millennials. Due to being born in the last 25 years, they grew amidst the dominance of digital culture that is closely related to the spread of instant consumption patterns and lifestyles. This generation is used to simplifying the complex nature of the world to their easily-clickable smartphones in order to find 'whatever they need'. Uncertainty can be easily dealt with when the virtual world is often different from the real world in front of them. Their uncertainty is then exacerbated by the discourse of moral panic among the millennials, due to the spread of issues such as promiscuity, usage of drugs, and other forms of antics that make parents worried (Thompson, 1998; Springhall, 1999).

The fact is, the millennial generation is part of the youth who have to face the reality of stricter competition to get jobs. The unavailability of adequate

jobs causes a high number of unemployment among the youth, causing many of them to be frustrated (Nilan, Parker, Bennett and Robinson, 2011; Naafs, 2013). Due to their uncertainty and non-establishment, some of youths were encouraged to claim a 'space' in complex social interaction process by relying on identity politics (Massey, 1998, Herrera and Bayat, 2010; Hasan, 2016a).

In a very unclear situation, the millennials must go face to face with the expansion of Islamism ideology that came to offer hopes and dreams of change. Built upon the narrative of the importance of going back to Islam's fundamental roots and the virtues of early generation, this ideology attempts to put a distance and demarcation between Islam and the open society that is depicted as a world full of sins, blasphemy and infidelity. Failure to put this distance is believed to be the main factor that contributes to the downfall of Muslim community under the political, economic and cultural dominance of the secular West. Caliphate (Islamic Empire) is advocated as the key to revive Islam's glory (Hasan, 2016a). Despite being utopic, Islamism ideology is quite attractive, particularly due to its ability in providing a 'coherent' and 'effective' reading on the many contemporary issues as well as in framing them in a way that represent marginalised people in a fight against injustice.

Islamism, Post-Islamism, and Popular Islamism

Gilles Kepel in *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam* (2002) defines Islamism as a thought, discourse, action and movement that involves a group of Muslim individuals that operates under a hastily-assumed shared ideology. Based on this definition, Islamism is obviously not a religious symptom, but more of a socio-political phenomenon that involves a group of Muslim individuals who are active in certain ideological-based movement that they believe in.

Olivier Roy (1996) has previously offered a definition similar to

Kepel's when he claims ideological-based thought and action as the main constitution of Islamism. This kind of thought and action grows within the Muslim community who dreams about the establishment of an "Islamic state," i.e. a state that based its legitimacy on Islam. For Roy, political Islam is a thought and action that believes that Islam is not only a religion, but also a political ideology that goes hand in hand with the world's huge political ideology, including capitalism, socialism, and communism.

According to this definition, ideology remains the main constitution of Islamism. Unlike Kepel, Roy underlines the importance of the goal of these thoughts, actions and movements--that is: the establishment of Islamic state. The definition of 'Islamic state' could be very wide, from the appearance of some Islamic symbols in the thought and daily activity of the people up to the change to the political system and format that are based on Islamic values and principles.

Among Islamic political scholars, Islamism is an umbrella term that refers to the socio-political symptoms closely related to ideological nuances, the intersection between religion and politics, as well as individual or collective activism that wants to promote a fundamental change to the established system. In this context, Islam is affirmed as a political ideology that constitutes the establishment of an Islamic state, or at least a Sharia-based Muslim community.

As an ideology that goes against a secular political, economic and social system, Islamism emphasises a holistic lifestyle that affirms the need for each individual and society to strictly follow Allah's regulation as stated in Sharia (Hasan, 2012). By framing it with a slogan of returning to the supposedly pure Islamic model – the *Al-Quran, Sunnah,* and the practices of early Muslim generations (*Salaf al-Salih*) – their demand materialised in many dimensions, such as in affirming parochial identity and militancy as well as bloody action to take over the power from the regime in charge.

Based on the above explanation, Islamism in actuality is not Islam plus

violence, which is often depicted in public discussions. Rather, similarly to the religion itself, Islamism is vulnerable to the manipulation of religious symbols that eventually ends in violence. Islamism is more of an activism that commits to realising certain political agenda through the use of symbols, doctrines, languages, ideas, and Islamic ideologies. The political agenda in question can be interpreted in many ways, from simply fighting for their aspiration and political rights to defeating and overthrowing the regime in charge. The methods to achieve this are also very diverse, from collective actions to express opinions, mass demonstrations, creating political parties, participating in general elections, to mobilizing underground and terrorist movement. Violence in Islamism is usually accepted in order to realise a political agenda.

Islamism as a concept has been widely debated. Lately, this concept is more associated with radicalism and terrorism, particularly after the 9/11 attack, bombings in Bali, London, Madrid, Brussels and Istanbul – among others – the murder of Theo van Gogh in Amsterdam, and a wide backlash against the Prophet Muhammad's caricatures in a Denmark Newspaper. Daniel M. Varisco (2010), for example, criticises the use of the term Islamism, especially because he believes that the term is closely associated with the impression of Islamic violence. He believes that the use of the term Islamism is rooted on prejudice and hostility toward Muslim that has developed since the middle ages.

Other scholars stress the dynamic nature of Islamism. Asef Bayat (2005) defines Islamism as an activism with Islamic nuance in which the main purpose, both collective and individual one, is to promote a change toward an established social and political system. The nuance of activism has garnered special attention in this definition. As an activism, Bayat argues, Islamism has a dynamic nature that can be associated with liberal freedom and cultural differentiation or structural modernism. Bayat criticises the scholars who tend to exaggerate aspects of symbolism, language and

ideology in Islamism by treating it as something static and wrapped in a frozen structure and discourse. He believes that Islamism is something that is always in constant shift and motion following the change in the context behind it.

In reality, Islamism has undergone a post-Islamist transformation ever since the Arab Srping. The Renaissance Party (Ennahda) in Tunis and Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt are two examples of Islamic movement that became more moderate and enjoyed key support from the people. Hizbullah Lebanon and Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi (AKP) in Turkey or Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in Indonesia also experienced similar changes. Even in Saudi Arabia, signs of a shift toward post-Islamism have been made clearer by accommodation of many aspects of democracy, pluralism, moderatism, and women's rights in the royal politics. Under the leadership of Prince Muhammad ibn Salman, who is trusted to lead corruption institution, the shift seems to continue cracking political deadlocks in the petro-dollar country that was previously active in advocating Wahabism.

Asef Bayat (1996;2005) has predicted this change when he offered a theory of post-Islamism, which is depicted as a shift to the patern of Islamist activism from a revolutionary collective activism to individual activism that accepts the imperatives of modern life. While the first centres upon ideology, post-Islamism distances itself from ideological nuance and collective militancy to establish an Islamic state and stresses upon the harmonisation and alignment between Islam and modernity.

According to Nilufer Göle (2006; 2010), post-Islamism emerges as the second wave of political Islam that focuses more on the cultural aspect and materialises in personal piety. The identity of Muslim in this wave experiences a process of 'banalisation,' in which actors involved in shaping the face of Islam in public space are fine with entering the modern urban space through global communication network, getting involved in public debates, following consumption patterns, studying market regulations, as

well as being familiar with values of individualism and professionalism. Thus, they challenge the hegemonic claim and conform to the context behind it.

Bayat argues that post-Islamism is an analytical construct to understand the shifting political trend in Islamic world to a new direction; a synthesis between the discourse on the rise of Islam that emerges alongside Islamism wave and the development of secular modern education as well as market values and democratic idioms in Islamic world (Bayat, 2007; 2013). Despite that, post-Islamism cannot be separated from the roots of Islamism; rather, it is more of an acceptance to the secularisation of state and the prevalence of religious ethics within the society, which is supported by the development of personal piety.

Similar to Bayat, Olivier Roy (2012; 2013) also believes that Islamism as an ideology collapses due to frustration and the lack of convincing blue print as well as the limit of secular politics. Roy believes that the utopia of Islamic state and holistic ideology has 'lost its credibility' especially among the educated youths. Modernisation and globalisation, which can be seen from the rise of new media, apparently undermine the receptiveness of the youth to the top-down authoritarian structure urged by Islamism. Therefore, post-Islamism emerges as an alternative for Muslim youth who like to use Facebook and other forms of social media - not to discuss about an Islamic state, but to respond the global discourse on freedom and plural society.

Dominik M. Müller (2014) affirms Bayat and Roy. He believes in the dynamic nature of Islamism as it is related with the youth as the main pillar of Islam movement that tends to be the most progressive, idealist and brave, as well as able to bring about change. As a new generation who is involved in a normative contestation with the elite, they don't mind changing political orientation, leaving behind the desire to create an Islamic state, and putting forward a desire to create a dialogue between Islam and modernity. They

see the compatibility between Islamism's dream to realise God's Supremacy and the spirit of democracy as well as popular culture that rises alongside globalisation in the Islamic world. Muller calls this phenomenon a popular Islamism that combines Islamic dreams and modern pop cultures within it.

About this Book

One of the ways to read the dynamic and shift in Islamism is to see the map of millennial generation's Islamic literatures. This approach is important since many scholars are only concerned with the ideological dynamic of Islamic movement, thus ignoring the more fundamental thing regarding the factors that constitute that ideology. The role of Islamic literatures in the diffusion of Islamism among the millennials, particularly college and high school students, cannot be ignored in this context. In general, the Islamist ideology infiltrates through religious books and literatures used in high school, whether in the class or extracurricular activities. In extracurricular activities, Islamic Mentoring in Rohis for example, the idea of the supremacy of caliphate and sharia receives more allocation, by referring to books written by prominent Islamist thinkers such as Hasan al-Banna, Abul A'la al-Maududi, Sayyid Qutb, Taqiy al-Din al-Nabhani, Ali Syariati, 'Abd al-Aziz bin Baz, and Muhammad Salih al-Uthaimin. The same is also true in campuses, where Islamist ideology spreads through books read by students, especially in da'wah activities and other kinds of Islamic activities, such as *halaqah* and *daurah*.

In general, studies on Islamic literatures and their influence in constructing Islamic knowledge and ideology in Indonesia can be categorised into two main concerns: *classical* and *contemporary*. Classical Islamic literatures studies focus on the transmission of Islamic knowledge through texts in the yellow book (traditional Islamic literatures in Indonesia), which is read and discussed in traditional pesantren (Islamic school in Indonesia). Studies with such a model can be found in works

by Martin van Bruinessen (1990) and Azyumardi Azra (2004), which are more concerned with the transmission and genealogy of Islamic knowledge in Nusantara. On the other hand, contemporary Islamic literatures studies focus more on the publishing of translated books from the Middle East and the ideologies contained in those books. Philips Vermonte (2007) and Abdul Munip (2008), for example, show how discourse regarding the rise of Islam in the Middle East, including Iran, have influenced the Muslim youth in Indonesia since 1980s. Works by Hasan al-Banna, Abul A'la al-Mawdudi, Sayyud Qutb, Sayyid Hawwa, Ali Shariati and Yusuf al-Qardhawi, which have been translated into Bahasa Indonesia, have caused many youths to be obsessed with the idea of building an Islamic state and an ideal classless society.

Unlike previous contemporary Islamic literatures studies that mainly focus on books and publishers, recent studies are expanding their scope to include magazines distributed among Muslim youths. These studies investigate Islamic magazines such as Sabili, Jihadmagz, Annida and Elfata as well as Islamic literatures written by local figures such as Abdullah Gymnastiar, Yusuf Mansur and Habiurrahman El-Shiraezy (Rijal 2005; Muzakki 2009; Kailani 2010; and Latief 2010). Aside from investigating the politico-economic aspects of Islamic literatures publishing, these studies also show how those magazines are distributed among students through a variety of Islamic activities.

A study that specifically maps the Islamic literatures distributed among college students is exemplified by the work of Hilman Latief (2010). The research took place in 5 universities in Yogyakarta, UGM, UNY, UMY, UII and UIN Sunan Kalijaga. Latief believes that the Islamic literatures used and read by college students can be divided into three: Salafi-Puritan literature; general Islamic literature, and; politically-oriented Islamic literature. Salafi-Puritan literature is represented by Abdul Wahab's *Kitab Tauhid* and Ibnu Taymiyyah's *Aqidah Islamiyah*. General Islamic literatures

includes, among others, *Fiqh Sunnah* by Sayyid Sabiq and Arbain Nawawi. Meanwhile, politically-oriented Islamic literatures is represented by Sayyid Qutb's *Ma'alim Fi al-Tariq* and Yusuf Qardhawi's *Fatawa Musasira*. Aside from Middle Eastern literatures, Latief also finds that several students read works by local Muslim writers such as Abdullah Gymnastiar, Quraish Shihab, Abu Bakar Ba'asyur and Anis Matta.

Continuing upon those pioneer works, this book will comprehensively map and study Islamic literatures available and accessible to Indonesian millennials. The Islamic literatures in question do not only include external books, magazines, leaflet and others commonly assumed to be influential in the construction of millenials' Islamic knowledge and ideology, but also classroom textbooks and Islam Religion textbooks used by students. Although these are usually ignored in scholarly research, school textbooks are important to figure out Islamism's capability to penetrate the education system in Indonesia as well as its diffusion method and depth of influence among college and high school students. With a standardised curriculum and teachers who have competence and regulation regarding the publishing and usage of textbook in Islam Religion classes, Islamism should not be able to penetrate classrooms easily.

Beyond the existing studies, this book attempts to map the producers of Islamic literatures in Indonesia along with their network and products. Outside of standard literatures used as a reference for class sessions, this study also attempts to understand and differentiate the many types of literature that is popular among the millennial generation: Jihadi, Tahriri, Salafi, Tarbawi, and popular Islamism.

In this context, it would be interesting to see the position of Jihadi literature – which depicts the world in a constant war situation due to ignorance to God's absolute sovereignty, thus urging the Muslim community to commit jihad wherever they are – in the map of millennials' Islamic literatures. Also important to be studied is the position of Tahriri literature

that focuses on the idea of reviving the Islamic empire as a way to return to the glory of Islam and its role in soothing the millennials' frustration to the unjust system. The role of key actors like Felix J. Siauw in adapting and appropriating Tahriri ideas, in languages that are simple, straightforward and appropriate for cotemporary Muslim youth, is also interesting to be given special attention to in this book.

Furthermore, this book also sees the importance of Salafi literature for the millennials. The strength of Salafi literature is in its capability to create a clear separating line between the contemporary world that is depicted as a place full of sin and infidelity and the ideal world believed to give salvation and certainty. Those books also offer a foundation to claim an identity and authenticity in practicing religion, since they have strong references to Islam's main sources of information. Also as important is Tarbawi literature that brought Muslim Brotherhood's ideology – that desires a change to established political order. In this context, it is important to observe the shift in Tarbawi literature to books that appropriate the ideological mission of Hasan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb and Sayyid Hawwa into messages about gradual changes, by first planting morality and commitment in practicing Islam.

Outside the four categories mentioned above, this book also attempts to understand the emergence of one particular new Islamic literatures that flourishes among the millenials; i.e. popular Islamism. By being delivered as fiction, in a popular and comical format, popular Islamism literature offers themes relatable to most people's daily life and a ready-to-use guide to practice Islam. Some particular characteristics of this literature are its tendency to use short narratives, simple languages without patronizing, and attractive illustrations. It would be interesting to go in-depth in order to see how actors are involved in a process of contextualisation and appropriation after understanding market demands and the millennials' cultural identity that appears to be easily persuaded into following certain ideologies,

especially by dictating and locking them in a black and white perspective. Observing the development of popular Islamism literature will also be important to understand the trajectory of Islamist movement in Indonesia.

Besides mapping Indonesian millennial's Islamic literatures, this book also looks into how those literatures are distributed and transmitted into the millennials. The role of agencies is indeed important in the production and distribution of Islamic literatures. They are the main actors who are fully aware of their decision in choosing the books to be published – whether based on ideological consideration or market demands. Some of them are translations of works by Middle-Eastern scholars whose influence are getting more apparent with the diffusion of transnational Islamist movement in Indonesia. This book then probes the distribution and transmission patterns of Islamic literatures among the millennials. The focus is directed to see the role of LDK, Rohis, Islamist organisations and movements, political parties, and other supporting organisations as well as certain key actors – college and high school students, lecturers, teachers, alumni, book writers, publishers and bookstores – in that transmission process. Those actors are not only capable to creatively introduce those books through Islamic activities, such as communal Al-Quran reading, *halaqah* and *daurah*, but also to sell them to wider audience by organizing book discussions and book fairs as well as other popular events. This book also analyses how those actors contextualise and appropriate messages that they wish to deliver through Islamic literatures, as well as how they package them in attractive ways so that they can be accepted by the millennials.

As we see the diverse context behind the emergence of Islamic literatures among millennials in Indonesia, a country with 34 provinces and hundreds of tribes, languages, and cultures as well as different historical, socio-political and economic characteristics, this book also considers the dynamics that occur in each region in terms of production, transmission and appropriation of Islamic literatures by local actors and writers.

Furthermore, this book also identifies the staying power of traditional or mainstream Islamic literatures, as well as moderate-progressive literatures written to be a counter-narration to radical literatures, in the context of widespread distribution of new Islamic literatures developed by Islamist movements. The staying power of this kind of literatures is important to be observed as it emits important signals regarding the future of Islam in Indonesia.

Methodological Notes

This book is based on a research conducted in 16 cities in Indonesia by involving 16 researchers and 32 assistant researchers. The research was conducted in Medan, Pekanbaru, Padang, Bogor, Bandung, Solo, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Jember, Pontianak, Banjarmasin, Makasar, Palu, Mataram, Ambon, and Denpasar. These cities were chosen by considering the distribution, typology, and key characteristics inherent in each of them. The research sampling included several high schools, vocational schools, and Madrasah Aliyah (MA)[1], both the public and private ones, as well as several public universities regulated under the Ministry of Research and Technology – Higher Education (Kemenristek-Dikti) and the Ministry of Religion and private Universities. All of them representred the map of diversity and spread of educational institutions in each city.

Researchers and their assistants conducted an observation in each city for more or less 2 months by visiting the chosen schools and universities, as well as bookstores and other related nodes. A simple survey was made in the early observation phase in order to map general trends that developed within each city. The researchers then conducted in-depth interviews with almost 300 respondents. They were college and high school students, teachers, lecturers, principals, book sellers, book writers, publishers, and

1 TN: Madrasah Aliyah is an Islamic school for high school-level students. It is regulated by the Ministry of Religion instead of the Ministry of Education and Culture.

other relevant respondents. Moreover, the researchers also conducted 2 Focus Group Discussion (FGDs) with 10 high school students and 10 college students respectively. Overall, more than 320 people, excluding respondents in interviews and surveys, were involved in those FGDs. In those FGDs, researchers were able to dig deep into the millennial's acceptance level and preferences to Islamic literatures as well as how they contextualised and appropriated those literatures.

CHAPTER 2

Reading Lists for Islamic Education in Schools and Universities

Suhadi Cholil

Students currently enrolled in high school and universities are estimated to be born between the year of 1995 and 2002; trhey are approximately 16 to 23 years old. These generations are children of the millenials (generation Y) and some of the generation Z. Due to the economic growth and educational advancement in Indonesia, many of them are able to enjoy education up to the high school level and some are even able to go to universities.

In the context of the rise of religious identity and discourse in Indonesia, youths from different background are still taught Islamic Religion Education (IRE) in schools and campuses. Therefore, it would be interesting to see the types of IRE literature used in these educational institutions.

The existence and extent of IRE materials, or of religious education in general, in high school and college curricula in the era of New Order up to

Reformation were very much intertwined with the politics of education in the respective era. The educational goal stipulated in Article 3 of Law No. 20 of 2003 on the National Education System is to make students "pious and devoted to God, the One and Only" and "virtuous." Such goals were not included in the Old Order's educational goal, which was more inclined toward socialist values. The main goal of education during the Old Order was to push for the births of "ethical humans" and "a socialist society" (Suhadi et al., 2013: 13).

Nowadays, hardly have we ever heard of complaints about the existence of Religious Education as an obligatory element in formal educational curricula. The increasing acceptance to Religious Education as a part of school curricula by the society has been driven by a belief that religion is the answer to the "moral panic" caused by modernisation and globalisation that corrupt the society. Moral panic and a hope for an answer through religion to deal with it has not only become a guide believed by Islamists in Islamic schools (Hasan, 2012), but has also expanded to general schools and campuses. Thus, it is important to see whether the IRE that develops within certain level puts forward tolerance and acceptance to differences or otherwise, driving exclusivism or even radicalism.

As a formal educational institution, the literature patterns used for IRE in high school and university can be well determined. Although there are some dynamics, the patterns are generally influenced by the type of the concerned educational institution. High school level can be differentiated into three: public high schools, religion-based private schools, and Madrasah Aliyah. Meanwhile, university-level can also be differentiated into three categories: public general universities, Islamic universities, religion-based private universities. The IRE literature in general private high schools is more or less similar with the one in public high schools, while general private universities are mostly similar to public general universities. Therefore, we do not create an individual category for the two.

As has been mentioned in this book's introduction, this research was conducted in 16 cities or regions. This chapter uses the data from those field research activities, although it is unable to reliably illustrate all of the dynamics in each region. The data were taken only from some of the regions relevant to this chapter. Other chapters in this book discuss about the development and dynamics of Islamic literatures in Islamic universities, such as UIN, IAIN, STAIN and the like. In this chapter however, we do not discuss IRE in those Islamic universities. Rather, we focus more on public high schools, religion-based private high schools, and Madrasah Aliyah for high school level. As for the university-level, we are focusing on public general universities and religion-based private universities.

The Map of Islamic Education Literatures

1. High Schools and Madrasah Aliyah

In public high schools and general private high schools, Islam and Moral Education (hereafter abbreviated IRE) is held for 2 school hours (JTM) a week. On the other hand, IRE classes in Islam-based private high schools, usually managed under a foundation, are held for more than 2 JTM, up to 6 JTM. A typical class is held more often on the basis of preserving the school's identity as a school managed under an Islamic foundation. Therefore, additional classes include introduction to the history of Islam and the religious view of the umbrella foundation as well as other additional normative Islamic classes.

In most public high schools that we investigated, the teachers and students are using IRE books based on Minister of Education and Culture (Kemendikbud)'s 2013 curriculum. In practice, however, they are using Electronic Textbooks published by Pusat Kurikulum Perbukuan Balitbang Kemendikbud. Most schools use the standard 2013 curriculum's IRE books which is published by publishing companies which is engaged in the field of school textbooks. Based on our research in 16 cities, the most popular

high school IRE books are the ones published by Erlangga. After Erlangga, the most common IRE being used are those published by Yudhistira, Bumi Aksara, Platinum, Yrama Widya, or other publishers.

IRE book publishers are still being dominated by big companies from Java Island. Erlangga Publishing Company, which has the most count for its book's usage, is a school textbook publisher headquartered in Caracas, East Jakarta. Aside from Erlangga, other publishers are also headquarterd in Java island like Yudhistira (Jakarta), Bumi Aksara (Jakarta), Karya Toha Putra (Semarang), Platinum (Surakarta) and Srikandi Empat Widya Utama (Yogyakarta). Even though Erlangga is headquartered in Jakarta, it also has branch offices in 31 provinces in Java and outside Java. Mass production is also done by Yudhistira, which has branch offices in big cities in Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Bali and Nusa Tenggara. Most of the big publishers are establishing more specific subsidiaries. Tiga Serangkai Publishing Company, for example, establishes Aqila, which specifies on books for MA. At the same time, Platinum and Tiga Serangkai groups also target the IRE segment in schools.

If students and teachers in high school use IRE literature based on Kemendikbud's 2013 curriculum, students and teachers in MA use religious/ Islamic literatures based on the Ministry of Religion (Kemenag)'s 2013 curriculum. In Kemenag's MA curriculum, there are 4 classes for IRE, namely Al-Quran and Hadiths, Akidah-Akhlak, Fiqh and Cultural History. Those four classes are held for 2 school-hours a week. Arabic is also an obligatory class for students but it is not considered as IRE. As such, the total amount of school-hours for IRE in MA is 8 hours. Our research focuses only on three textbooks: Akidah-Akhlak, Alquran and Hadiths, and Fiqh.

Similar to what is done for high schools, the government through the Directorate of Madrasah Education's Directorate General of IRE in Kemenag also provides Electronic Textbooks for IRE in MA. In general, teachers and students in research sites use the 2013 curriculum's IRE

textbooks, particularly the Electronic Textbooks. Some schools combine electronic textbooks with books published by Aqila, Karya Toha Putra and Srikandi Empat. The typical structure of IRE textbooks for the tenth- and eleventh-graders in is such that the textbooks consist of 11 chapters each while textbooks for the twelfth-graders only consist of 10 chapters.

The typology of those materials are, more or less, as follows: *First*, discussions about faith, including the faith to the God, Al-Quran and Hadiths, the Angels, God's holy books, the prophets, the apocalypse, as well as divine destiny (*qada'* and *qadar*). *Second*, discussions about Muslim's prayers and obligations, which include the holy pilgrimage (*haji*), maintenance of corpses, marriages, *da'wah*, Muslim/female Muslim clothing, charity, Islam economy, and inheritance. *Third*, about the history and role of Islam, such as the glory day of Islam, the revitalisation of Islam, Islam's blessing for Nusantara, and Islam's blessing for the world. *Fourth*, virtues according to Islamic teaching, such as honesty, living in honour, seeking and sharing knowledge, preserving dignity, avoiding promiscuity, mutual advise, competition and ethos of working, respecting older people and teachers, tolerance and unity, thinking critically, as well as diversity and democracy. Our research shows that there is no significant difference in books published by different publishers – although sometimes they use different wording for each chapter's title.

It should be noted that, besides the materials on faith, many of the discussion about IRE in the class reflect popular topics among the youth outside of school. Simple surveys, interviews and FGDs conducted for this research revealed topics such as hijab (female Muslim clothing) and promiscuity. Meanwhile, topics on diversity, tolerance, and democracy, despite not being much discussed by students, remain the concern of society in general.

Literatures on virtue and theology, as the name suggests, offer materials on theology, including philosophy (*kalam*) and virtue (*akhlak*). Furthermore,

these literatures also discuss about Islamic mysticism (*tasawwuf*). Albeit only discussing it in a short manner, existing literatures on Islamic mysticism manage to introduce its main concept such as *zuhud, mahabbah, fana* and *baqa*, *ittihad*, *hulul*, and *wahdatul-wujud.* In cases of virtue, other than discussing concepts of virtue, they are also elaborated with biographies – in order to teach students to emulate the virtuous key figures such as Fatimatuzzahra, Uways Al-Qarni, Abdurrahman bin Auf, Abu Dzar Al-Ghifari, Al-Ghazali, Ibnu Sina, Ibnu Rusyd, and Muhammad Iqbal. However, there are no figures from Indonesia mentioned therein as role models. Discussions on virtue also touch upon promiscuity, tolerance, *musawah* and *ukhuwah*. As for the case of theology, especially the much-debated divine theology, it will be discussed below.

Textbooks for learning Al-Quran and Hadiths, besides teaching knowledge about Al-Quran and Hadiths which includes the authenticity of Al-Quran, the *sanad*[2] of hadiths, and etc., also give case studies explained from the perspective of Al-Quran and Hadiths, such as the creation of human and their role, self-restraint, promiscuity, working ethos, family responsibility, preservation of the environment, science and technology, and so on.

As for textbooks on *Fiqh*[3], other than explaining about the basic concept of *fiqh* (the source of Islamic law, *usul al-fiqh*, and so on), they also discuss the provision made by Islamic law regarding praying rituals, Islamic economy and banking, family law (marriage, inheritance and the like), criminal law and Islamic court (*jinayat*, *hudud*, and so on). Existing literatures also discuss about *caliphate* (Islamic governance) and *jihad*. The latter two topics will be discussed in more detail as they are quite controversial.

Other than the IRE literatures, many high schools and Madrasah Aliyah also use Student Workbooks. A Student Workbook usually

2 TN: *Sanad* is the chain of narrators of the hadiths which is used to prove whether a hadiths is reliable or not.
3 TN: Conceptually speaking, *Fiqh* is an attempt by human to understand Islamic law or the Sharia. It can also be understood as a study to interpret Sharia which is called *usul al-fiqh*.

contains summaries of lessons and quizzes. The quizzes are in accordance with applicable curriculum and/or the textbooks used in the school. As such, there are many quizzes that fit with the materials in the curriculum. Students and teachers in both high schools and MA are still relying on Student Workbooks, including for IRE. In Ambon, for example, SMAN 3 and SMAN 11 use Aspirasi's Student Workbooks that are published by CV Graha Printama Selaras, which is headquartered in Colomadu, Karanganyar, Central Java. Several schools in Mataram use Student Workbooks published by Putra Nugraha Surakarta. In Pontianak, students who attend the FGD session reported using Student Workbook for their IRE class which is published by CV Haka MJ (Surakarta), Master (Klaten), CV Merah Putih (Surabaya) and Putra Nugraha (Surakarta). Other Student Workbooks being used in schools are from Sindunata (Sukoharjo), CV Indonesia Jaya (Solo), CV Graha Pustaka (South Jakarta) and Intan Pariwara (Klaten). As we can see, Java-based publishers are still dominating the production of those Student Workbooks.

2. Universities

Compared to high schools and MA in which students and teachers use similar curricula and standard textbooks authorised by the government, the case for universities is more dynamic. In 2016, Directorate General of Learning and Student Affairs in Kemenristek-Dikti published an IRE textbook titled Pendidikan Agama Islam bagi Mahasiswa (Islam Education for College Students). The Directorate General sent the Letter No. 435/B/SE/2016 on "Obligatory Learning Materials for General Lecture" to the executive committee of public universities, Private University Coordinator I to XIV, and the executive committee in other related ministries and institutions. One of the general lectures in question is IRE. The book was made by quite a lot of writers, 12 people in fact. It is stated that the book is "prepared by the government to be one of the sources of values and

materials in the implementation of lectures in order to establish student's character as an Indonesian." This means that IRE also has a role in building nationalism for the students.

Kemenristek-Dikti's book is made of only 10 chapters. Some of the chapters in the book cannot be found in ADPISI's book (which will be explained in the later part of this book), such as a discussion on how religion ensures happiness (chapter 3), how to contextualise Islam in Indonesia (chapter 6), how Islam deals with the challenge of modernisation (chapter 8), and how Islam contributes to the development of the civilisation in the world (chapter 9). Meanwhile, the discussions shared by the two books are about believing in God, the role of mosque, and taxes--*zakat*. The inclusion of discussion on taxes is relatively new compared to the IRE curriculum in the early 2000s – which will be discussed below. In this book, it is stated that 74.6% of State Budget's income came from taxes. It is then explained that the obligation to pay tax should be differentiated with the obligation to pay *zakat* (tax in Islam), as paying for taxes is the proof of a love to the nation.

Kemenristek-Dikti also supports the making of IRE textbooks that are written and organised by the Executive Board Committee of Asosiasi Dosen Pendidikan Agama Islam Seluruh Indonesia (ADPISI) through IRE curriculum development teams in general universities. ADPISI's provincial membership is spread quite widely: in 20 provinces. This association publishes *Pendidikan Agama Islam Kontemporer* (Contemporary IRE).

We found that these books are used by IRE lecturers in Pattimura University of Ambon. The production of this book was led by Prof. Dr. Zainuddin Ali with the help of four other writers. Until 2017, this book had been reprinted four times. In terms of contents, ADPISI's book has a lot of similarity with the book published by Kemenristek-Dikti. The book is designed to be readily used in university, consisting of 14 chapters for 14 class sessions in a semester. The first chapter discusses about the importance of IRE in universities, which is then followed by a discussion on the

concept of God, human, faith-piety, Al-Quran, Hadiths, Ijtihad, Islamic Law and ethics. It is then followed by topics about interfaith harmony, Sharia economics, Islamic politics, Islamic culture and the role of mosques. In his preface, the Leader of ADPISI gives a background about ADPISI.

> "… (ADPISI) is the vessel and partner of the government to strengthen lecturers' quality and to develop materials for IRE lectures in public universities. The role of ADPISI in strengthening IRE's quality in public universities is facilitated by DIKTI's effort in standardising IRE lectures…"

Given the widespread management of ADPISI, Kemenristek-Dikti and ADPISI expect that the two books will be the main reference to teach IRE in public universities. How does it fare in reality? It appears that both Kemenristek-Dikti and ADPISI are not quite successful to turn their books into the main textbook for IRE in universities. The lecturers that we interviewed reported that they rarely use them. In most cases, lecturers, both individually or as a team, made and publish their own IRE books. Others use unpublished dictates or simply using PowerPoint slides with references taken from other sources.

On the one hand, this is a good thing since it encourages more locally-oriented textbooks, as long as the material does not deviate too much from the government's curriculum. Furthermore, the materials provided are still giving respect to diversity without any mention about hatred to different Islamic sects or non-Muslims. On the other hand, however, this kind of practice opens up an opportunity to insert Islamist ideas in IRE classes, for instance if the lecturer is a proponent of Islamist.

Other IRE textbooks, meanwhile, also circulate in the market with a more or less similar vision to the government's curriculum above, such as *Dasar-Dasar Agama Islam: Buku Teks Pendidikan Agama Islam pada Perguruan Tinggi Umum* edited by Zakiah Daradjat, et al. (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang), *Pendidikan Agama Islam: Upaya Pembentukan Pemikiran dan*

Kepribadian Muslim, written by Muhammad Alim (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya); *Pendidikan Agama Islam* by Toto Suryana Af, et al. (Bandung: Tiga Mutiara), and; *Seminar Pendidikan Agama Islam*, written by Munawar Rahmat, et al. (Bandung: UPI Press). As for books used in campus, other than referring to the 2016 Kemenristek-Dikti's curriculum, some refer to the IRE National Curriculum for University based on the Directorate General of Higher Education's Decree No. 38/Dikti/Kep/2002.

In UGM, the IRE Lecturers Team edited a book titled *Pendidikan Agama Islam* (2006 edition) that refers to the IRE National Curriculum based on the 2002 Decree. The 13-member team was coordinated by Mustofa Anshori Lidinillah. The book itself consists of 13 chapters that include divinity, human beings, faith, implementing faith & devoutness in modern life, civilised society and community's prosperousness, human rights and democracy in Islam, Islamic law and the contribution of Indonesia's Islam community, Islamic political system, Islamic economic system, Science and Art in Islam, Islamic cultures, ethics-morality-virtues, and interfaith dialogues. The two chapters on Islamic political system and interfaith dialogues are also aligned with Kemenristek-Dikti and Adpisi's books. One interesting chapter in the UGM's book, which is not included in Kemenristek-Dikti and Adpisi's, is about "Human Rights and Democracy in Islam." This chapter discusses the positive side of Islamic teaching about human rights and democracy, as well as introduces the principles of human rights and democracy in Islamic teaching.

A similar book was made by a 9-member IRE Lecturers Team in Lambung Mangkurat University (ULM), edited by Nuryadin, titled *Modul Pendidikan Agama Islam* (2013). We found that this book is used in ULM and their lecturers. In its preface, it is said that IRE is regulated under Character Development Class (MPK), while the MPK's mission itself is "to be the source of value and guideline in development and study in order to create students that are strong-charactered Indonesians." As such,

the Indonesian identity aspect is quite prominent. The book consists of 8 modules: Islam's perspective on the universe, human beings, Islam as an education system, theology, sharia, virtue, science, and arts. Looking at its face value, it appears that this book is simpler than the UGM counterpart. Yet a more detailed reading reveals that the topic discussed in individual chapters in the UGM book is actually discussed as well in this book albeit within certain chapters. For example, in the chapter about Sharia, one of its sub-chapters, titled *Mu'amalah,* also discusses democracy in Islam, political system in Islam, and interfaith dialogues. Similar to other textbooks mentioned above, this textbook also puts forward the vision of Islamic peace and viewing democracy in a positive light.

In Padang State University (UNP), a 14-member IRE Lecturers Team wrote *Pendidikan Agama Islam untuk Perguruan TInggi Umum* (fourth edition, 2015) that is more or less aligned with the 2002 curriculum. In one out of the 15 chapters, this book discusses "Islam in Indonesia," which explains about the history of Islam in Indonesia and its role in sustaining the nation. By quoting Yusuf Qardhawi, this chapter also describes 9 characters of Islamic culture that are required to build the Islamic culture in Indonesia, which includes *insaniyah* (humanity), *at-tasamuh* (tolerance), diversity, *al-wasathiyah* (balance), and so on. Meanwhile, in Andalas University of Padang, Rusyja Rustam wrote a textbook titled *Pendidikan Agama Islam untuk Perguruan Tinggi Umum* (2014) with a curriculum similar to that of the UNP's book.

Next is *Modul Pendidikan Agama Islam* in Bandung Institute of Technology (2005), written by Asep Zaenal Ausop. Published by Socio-Technology Department, Fine Arts and Design Faculty, the book's cover includes a slogan "Textbook for Character Building: Creating students with devout personality, paradigmatic thinking, rational and able to create science, technology and arts beneficial for many people." It contains 14 modules classified into three main parts: (a) Introduction; (b) Source of Islamic Teaching, and; (c) Implementing Islamic Values in Life. Some of

them are dogmas commonly learned in Islamic studies, such as Islam as a *din* (roughly means: religion), Al-Quran, Sunnah, the existence of Allah in human's life, human as a *khalifah* (leader), virtue, Islamic mysticism, and family in Islam. Meanwhile, there are modules related to contemporary life such as Islamic ethics on economy, social and culture; Islamic ethics on socio-political affairs, human rights, and enforcement of law, and; Islamic ethics on developing science, technology and arts.

In Islam-based private universities, students are obliged to take more than 2 credits for an Islam education course. Baiturrahmah University of Padang, other than publishing *Agama Islam untuk Perguruan Tinggi Umum* (Ulfatmi & Khairil 2013), also published textbooks and modules such as *Penuntun Ibadah* (Ulfatmi & Khairil), *Islam dan Perkawinan* (Ulfatmi & Khairil 2009), and *Materi Akhlak* (Ulfatmi & Khairil 2015). The book *Agama Islam untuk Perguruan Tinggi Umum* is quite similar to books published by other universities above, but the content in this Baiturrahmah University book is somewhat normative. In *Islam dan Perkawinan* (Islam and Marriage), one of the chapters explains about the prohibition of interfaith marriages and the provision of Islamic *walimah* (marriage party). The book also discusses promiscuity and sexual sexual deviation. Since Baiturrahmah University has many departments--medical, management and many general others--*Materi Akhlak* also contains chapters on the virtues of being Muslim medical doctors.

In Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta (UMY), there is no IRE course, which is pretty unlike other universities in general. Instead, a series of religion courses there is named *Al-Islam dan Kemuhammadiyahan* (AIK), which gives 8 credits in total. The credits are distributed into 4 courses with 2 credits each: Al-Islam 1 Aqidah-Akhlak, Al-Islam 2 Fiqh, Al-Islam 3 Al-Quran, and Ke-Muhammadiyah-an (or *Muhammadiyah-ness*). In practice, there is a dynamic between each faculty. For example, the Al-Quran and Fiqh course in the faculty of economcis is more concerned

with economic scriptures and *Fiqh Muamalat*[4]. Meanwhile, the medical faculty is more concerned with scriptures and fiqh on health. As we can see, the IRE curriculum and literatures in universities are more diverse and dynamic compared to that in high schools.

Inclusivism and Exclusivism in IRE Literatures

It is not easy to determine whether a given IRE book, module or textbook has an inclusive or exclusive tendency. On the one hand, all IRE books are required to refer to the curriculum set by the government with an affirmed vision to maintain coexistence in the society. Therefore, the most fundamental demand for an IRE curriculum is to be inclusive. On the other hand, however, it appears that there is a tendency of biases towards certain writers or references in the sources for writing those books. The references widely circulating in the market – which will be explained in the later chapter of this book – are Islamism literature, especially of the Tarbawi and Salafi, which tend to be exclusive. This sub-chapter will attempt to collect and analyse the idea of inclusivism and exclusivism in the IRE literatures that we have investigated.

First, a strong acceptance to democracy. Among other contemporary issues, acceptance to democracy tends to be high and positive in many IRE literatures, whether in high schools, MA or universities. In the high school level IRE textbooks, particularly Kemendikbud's 2015 electronic textbooks, the topic of democracy is given its own special chapter in the Twelfth Grade's textbook with a title "Bersatu dalam Keragaman dan Demokrasi (Unified in Diversity and Democracy)" (Chapter 4). The early part of this chapter, designated for a reflective writing activity, is quite interesting:

> "Democracy is indeed a concept that came from the Western world, but do not forget that Islam is accommodative to

4 TN: *Fiqh Muamalat* is part of *Fiqh* that deals with relation between people, which includes Islamic commercial law and Islamic banking.

> anything that comes from the outside, be it from the West or the East. As long as the values that they brought is in accordance with Islamic values, then it will be considered Islamic" (Kemendikbud 2015: 58).

This book also mentions that the government led by Prophet Muhammad and the first four Khalifah (Emperor), and constituted by Medina Charter, was a very democratic government. Aside from providing the fundamentals of Al-Quran and Hadiths, the book also discusses the comparison between, and the meeting point of, democracy and *syura*, in which *syura* is more specific due to its emphasis on the freedom of expression. However, it is mentioned that *syura* is the most important process in a democracy. Interestingly, the final part of this chapter also informs about the polemic of democracy among Islamic scholars (Kemendikbud 2015: 66-67). Even though democracy is specifically discussed in Kemendikbud's electronic textbooks, it is not true in the case of books published by Erlangga (2015), although the idea about democracy is distributed quite well in several chapters. Meanwhile, the book published by Platinum (2015) made a specific chapter for democracy, Chapter Six, of the Tenth Grade textbook, titled "Memahami Demokrasi (Understanding Democracy)."

In Madrasah Aliyah's literatures, a discussion on democracy is included as part of Al-Quran and Hadiths learning process. In the book published by Karya Toha Putra (2016), it is included as a material in Chapter VII for the Twelfth Grade under a title "Perilaku Demokratis dalam Kehidupan Sehari-hari (Democratic Attitude in Everyday Life)." Since it is part of Al-Quran and Hadiths lessons, the discussion is mostly centered on Quranic verses, its *asbabun nuzul* (cause) and its interpretation, as well as hadiths about democracy. The Quranic verses being discussed are Ali Imran (3) article 159 and Asy-Syu'ara (26) article 38. In explaining Ali Imran (3) article 159, the book's writer refers to Quraish Shihab's *Tafsir Al-Misbah,* which explains Prophet Muhammad's attempt to be gentle and prioritise consultation

during the difficult times around the Uhud War (Matsna 2016: 103).

University-level IRE literatures also discuss democracy. However, in doing so each book has different portions. The book written by UGM's IRE Lecturer Team (2006) has a special chapter, Chapter VI, titled "HAM dan Demokrasi dalam Islam (Human Rights and Democracy in Islam)." Meanwhile, ADPISI's book (2017) does not discuss it specifically in a special chapter, but put it as a part of the chapter on "Sejarah Politik Islam (Islam's Political History)," which discusses "Democracy and Consultation." A similar method of discussion is also found in the book written by UNP's IRE Lecturer Team (2014), which includes a sub-chapter on "Democracy in Islam" in the chapter about "Applying Islamic Political Sharia." As for the Kemenristek-Dikti's textbook (2016) and Andalas University's IRE textbook (2014) there is no adequate discussion about democracy.

Any discussion about Islam and democracy in an IRE class should be an engaging one. However, the existing textbooks, including those mentioned above, rarely facilitate their readers' discursive potential in reading about these topics. The chapter titled "Human Rights and Democracy in Islam" in UGM's IRE Lecturer Team's textbook (2016) is written with almost no reference nor meaningful intellectual discussions. This is quite unfortunate, as there are many academic books and journals regarding this topic. The whole chapter only has six footnotes and all of them inform on the Qur'anic verses that legitimise democracy. Obviously, such a thing is important, but facilitating critical and discursive thinking among students is also important. The sub-chapter called "Democracy in Islam" in the textbook written by UNP's IRE lecturer team (2014) only consists of 2 pages, meaning that it is quite short, even though it is written in a better manner and also makes a reference to an authoritative figure in this field, John L. Esposito. Again, however, the reference is not found in the bibliography of the chapter. This means that many IRE textbooks are not written in an adequate academic standard.

Secondly, the failure to contextualise discussion about Caliphate. The book

Fiqh, which was published as a Kemenag's electronic textbook (2016 edition) for MA, discusses two topics that are quite sensitive in Indonesia: "Caliphate (Governance in Islam)" and "Jihad in Islam." We did not see any attempt made in the revised book to contextualise those two topics into the contemporary situation in Indonesia. Apparently, the contextualisation is quite successful when it comes to jihad, but not much for caliphate. When discussing about caliphate, although there is an attempt to compare the history of caliphate with the history of other nations, such as Montesquieu's *trias politica* and the American Constitution, as well as dividing Islamic politics into *siyasah syar'iyah* and *siyasah dusturiyah*, it still concludes that – by referring to Islamic scholars' opinions – the obligation to build caliphate is considered a *fardlu kifayah* (communal responsibility) (Kemenag 2016: 12).

As such, it is no wonder that quizzes or exams often include ambiguous questions. In the textbook published by Kemenag (2016 edition), for example, there are two quiz questions that can have an ambiguous meaning. The *first* question is: "Explain the basic principle of caliphate along with its *naqli* principle!"; and the *second* is: "In reality, there are many practices of governance in this world. How could this be possible?" (Kemenag 2016: 28-29).

The first question legitimises the fact that caliphate is a concept that should be accepted by asking the *aqli* (rational) and *naqli* (religious) principles that justify it. As for the second question, caliphate is one of the many forms of governance in Islam. The statement about the *fardlu kifayah* status of building caliphate, if explained without properly contextualizing it, can create controversies. This actually happened during our research: A *Fiqh* exam on December 5th, 2017 for the twelfth grade in a Madrasah Aliyah of South Kalimantan Province raised a national controversy. The exam actually asks about the law that dictates the Muslim community to build caliphate according to a majority of Islamic scholars. The answer given for that question will definitely be *fardlu kifayah* because it is stated explicitly in the textbook. By reading the other questions in that exam

sheet (in total there are 27 questions about caliphate) it appears that many different people will have different impressions about it. This is due to the fact that many of the questions are making a political appreciation to a certain type of governance, such as questions about Syuro Assembly (in the political tradition of Islam) and legislative system in Indonesia, about Pancasila, people's sovereignty, et cetera.

What makes *Fiqh* literature in MA controversial might also be contributed to by its choice of word for the title, which is "Caliphate (Governance in Islam)." The *Fiqh* book for twelfth graders published by Toha Putra (2016) wrote a chapter on "*Ketentuan Islam tentang Caliphate* (Islam's Provisions on Caliphate)." This means that the 2013 curriculum is putting an emphasis on caliphate. What must be considered is the fact that the term 'caliphate' in Indonesia is very sensitive and often associated with the caliphate depicted by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). It might have been different if the curriculum put the emphasis on *fiqh siyasah*. This is what happened in university textbooks, which put more emphasis on *fiqh siyasah* or Islam politics, governance in Islam, or even democracy in Islam – instead of caliphate. We believe that the controversies surrounding IRE in MA can be avoided if the focus on caliphate is replaced, in accordance with university textbooks, by changing the word of 'caliphate' into 'Islamic politics'.

Thirdly, the shift from Asy'ariyah theology into Salafi theology. The recent polemic surrounding tauhid study or godliness theology in Indonesia can be simplified into two paradigms. The first is a paradigm that emphasises a tauhid concept of 20 divine traits of Allah. This paradigm refers to Abu Hasan Al-Asy'ary's (who passed away in 935 AD) and Abu Mansyur Al-Maturidi's (who passed away in 944 AD) theology. This theology is very popular among traditional Muslims in Indonesia. The second paradigm emphasises *tauhid rububiyah*, *tauhid uluhiya*, and *asma' wa sifat* that refers to Ahmab bin Hanbal's (who passed away in 855 AD) and Ibn Taymiyyah's (who passed away in 1328 AD) theology.

Many of Akidah-Akhlak textbooks in MA or IRE textbooks for high schoosl and universities have already incorporated those three concepts (*tauhid rububiyah*, *tauhid uluhiya*, and *asma' wa sifat*), but there are some that appropriate them in 4 concepts comparable to the 6 principles of faith (*rukun iman*), which are widely popular in Indonesia. The four concepts in question are *ilahiyah*, *nubuwah*, *ruhaniyah*, and *sam'iyah*. As for their explanation, *ilahiyah* includes forms, names, traits and deeds by Allah; *nubuwah* discusses faith to the prophet and *rasul*, including holy books, miracles and fetishes; *ruhaniyah* believes in metaphysical realms such as angels, genies, demons, devils and spirits; *sam'iyah* is making a leap of faith through *sama'i* or *naqli* decree on the underworld, the afterlife, grave torture, signs of Apocalypse, and on heaven and hell.

The existing textbooks make an explicit reference to Hasan Al-Banna's work (Saputra & Wahyudin 2014: 6-7). Hasan Al-Banna founded the Muslim Brotherhood movement in Egypt. The book *Pendidikan Agama Islam* (Aqidah/Tauhid) published by Lembaga Pengembangan Pendidikan Agama Islam (LEPIRE) of Islamic University of North Sumatra, Medan, uses the conceptual category of *tauhid rububiyah*, *tauhid uluhiya*, and *asma' wa sifat* (LEPIRE 2017: 30-33). In the book *Pendidikan Agama Islam untuk Perguruan Tinggi Umum* used in Andalas University of Padang, the explanation on akidah also makes a reference to Hasan Al-Banna. As for the scope of tauhid, a similar book from UNP (IRE lecturer team 2015) also explains similar classifications by giving more adequate and in-depth explanations on the four concepts.

Literatures on Akidah in Muhammadiyah universities also emphasise the above mentioned concepts. The book *Kuliah Akidah Islam* (*Islamic Akidah Lectures*) published by Lembaga Pengkajian dan Pengamalan Islam (LPPI) Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY) mentions about the scope of aqidah by explicitly referring to Hasan Al-Banna: *ilahiyat, nubuwat, ruhaniyat* and *sam'iyat* although the book also mentions other

alternatives in the form of six *arkanul* of faith. The second chapter of this book "Allah Subhanahu wa Ta'ala" also contains a specific sub-chapter discussing "Al-Asma' Was-Shiffat" (Ilyas 1992: 5-6). Meanwhile, the book *Kuliah Aqidah* (*Lectures on Aqidah*) published by Lembaga Pengkajian dan Pengamalan Islam (LP21) Universitas Muhammadiyah Mataram also explains three types of tauhid: *tauhid rububiyah*, *tauhid uluhiyah*, and *tauhid asma' wa sifat* (Sukarta 2016: 78-96). The way the author describes it, however, is only by providing a little description with a huge amount of quotes from al-Al-Quran.

In some high-school IRE textbooks, such as the electronic textbooks published by Kemendikbud (2017) and Erlangga (2016), there are no discussions about that topic. Meanwhile, the IRE textbook published by Platinum (2012) still uses the 20 divine traits of Allah. Some of the Akidah-Akhlak textbooks such as the one published by Toha Putra use the concept of *ilahiyah*, *nubuwah*, *ruhaniyah* and *sam'iyah,* which again makes a reference to Hasan Al-Banna. On the other hand, the Akidah-Akhlak textbook published by Kemenag (2014) does not use that concept at all.

Recently, people are surprised with the rare mention of the 20 divine traits of Allah (or 50 traits if combined with the *jaiz* traits of Allah and Prophet) in textbooks. The question is, since when has the theological paradigm of *asma wa sifat* entered the curriculum or textbooks? This research does not investigate textbooks published in the past or before 2013 curriculum. However, an article written by Muhaimin in 2007 provides a solid evidence on the argument that the theological paradigm of *asma wa sifat* has entered the curriculum and textbook literature since 2007. The late Muhaimin was a professor of Islam education in UIN Malang and former Director of Graduate School and Islamic Education Consultancy & Development Centrein UIN Malang. He wrote an elaborate article of 44 pages, titled "Analisis Kritis terhadap Permendiknas No. 23/2006 & No. 22/2006 tentang Standar Kompetensi Lulusan dan Standar Isi Pendidikan

Agama Islam di SD/MI, SMP/MTs & SMA/MA" or "Critical Analysis on MoE Regulation No. 23/2006 & No. 22/2006 on Graduate Competency Standard & Islamic Education Content Standard."

His work was presented in the Islam Education Assessment Workshop in Bogor's Religion Department in 2007. In a very explicit way, Muhaimin explains the "flaws of the Minister's regulation" and wishes to contribute for an "alternative solution in order to reform the standard contents of IRE in school."

> "In terms of akidah, 20 divine traits – *wujud, qidam, baqa'* and so on – despite being a good material to learn, it is still very rationalistic. It's indeed necessary, but at its most fundamental, akidah deals more with the heart (*qalbu*). Thus, looking from a religious perspective, the lesson on 20 divine traits is less meaningful. Compare it to the God's trait mentioned in Al-Quran as *al-asma' al-husna*. God is *Rahman* (The Most Merciful), so we must be optimistic towards God..." (Muhaimin, 2007).

Based on that statement, Muhaimin attempts to show the weakness of the 20 divine traits theology and wishes to change it by including *asmaul husna* in the curriculum's revision. In other article, he also said:

> "I have not seen any SK and KD in high school/MA level that could lead to building the foundation for students to further learn and deepen their understanding on akidah… (therefore) We need to give the foundation for high school/MA students to further learn and deepen their understanding on akidah, so that they will be able to learn about tauhid/kalam study, if they choose to continue their education in Islamic universities. For examples… explanation on tauhid concepts such as *tauhid uluhiyah, tauhid rububiyah, tauhid ash-shifat wa al-af'al, tauhid rahmaniyah, tauhid mulkiyah* and their implication for life..." (Muhaimin, 2007).

In fact, such proposal or similar ideas from other experts are apparently quite successful. The tauhid concept of *asma wa sifat* is widely accepted in IRE textbook in university level. Some akidah-akhlak literature in MA still prefers the old tauhid concept of 20 divine traits of Allah, but some already incorporate *asma wa sifat*. Meanwhile, there is no such theological discussion in high school level. The development of this discourse is important to be analysed as it can show how much progress has been made in Islamic theology (read: Tarbawi, Salafi) taught to students in formal educational institutions.

Fourthly, the lack of confidence in making Indonesian Islamic local wisdom and clerics or scholars as the sources of knowledge. Among the most prominent characteristics shown in IRE literatures, especially in high school level, is the reluctance to use local wisdom, whether it is an opinion from Muslim clerics or scholars or an Indonesian local tradition, as the source of knowledge. The existing literatures prefer figures and traditions from other Muslim countries, including aspects in which Indonesia has a great role in it.

In Kemendikbud's IRE textbook (2017) for eleventh graders there is a chapter on "The Golden Age of Islam" that divides Islamic history into three great periods: the classical age (650-1250), the middle-age (1250-1800), and the modern age (1800-present). Unfortunately, Indonesia as the biggest Muslim Country is not mentioned at all in that historic narrative. While it is true that Islam in Indonesia has not been meaningfully developed in the classical age, Indonesian Islam in the middle age has actually grown into a meaningful social, cultural, political and economic community – especially during the modern age. In the chapter about "Rejuvenators of Islam," Indonesia is mentioned shortly as a country with the biggest population of Muslim. But in the discussion about "Islam rejuvenator figures in modern age" it only mention Syah Waliyullah (India), Sayyid Ahmad Khan (India), Muhammad Iqbal (India), Muhammad Ali

Pasha (Egypt), Rafa'ah Baidawi Rafi' Al-Tahtawi (Egypt), Jamaluddin Al-Afghani (Egypt), Muhammad Abduh (Egypt), Muhammad Rasyid Rida (Egypt), Sultan Mahmud II (Turkey), and Namik Kamal (Turkey).

Why does it not mention any figures from Nusantara? Hamzah Al-Fansuri, Nuruddin Ar-Raniri, Syamsuddin Sumatrani, Nawawi Al-Bantani, Yusuf Al-Makassari, Arsyad Al-Banjari, Ihsan Jampes and many others clerics and scholars from Indonesia gained many international recognition during their times, but the book does not mention any of them. They taught in Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Egypt or South Africa and wrote influential books in Indonesia and other countries. The previous generation had the Walis (Sunans) who persistently preached in Java, Bali and other regions. Several other prominent political figures are Samudera Pasai, Raden Patah, Pakubuwono, Hamangkubuwono, Ki Ageng Tirtayasa and so on. Ironically, Indonesian Islam in the book is portrayed as only the receiver of influence from external figures. Thus, Indonesia is depicted as a passive community, rather than that as an active community in the global landscape.

> "The rejuvenation of Islam in Egypt, India, and Turkey in the modern age directly and indirectly influences Islamic movement in the Southeast Asia. Islamic figures in Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, selectively absorb new ideas from Islamic figures overseas." (Kemendikbud, 2017: 175)

Other textbooks are more or less similar, including books published by Erlangga (2014). The IRE textbook published by Platinum for eleventh graders (2015) also shares a similar perspective. The textbook does mention a cleric from Indonesia, Ahmad Khatib Al-Minangkabawi. Ahmad Khatib himself lived alone and taught in Mecca and had a lot of pupils who would then become prominent figures in Indonesia. The IRE textbook for eleventh graders published by Bumi Aksara has more mention about the figures of Islam rejuvenation in the world, such as the pioneers in economics,

education, literature, et cetera; but once again, there was no mention of any pioneering figure from Indonesia.

As of lately, Indonesia has been seen as the biggest democracy in the world. Many experts mention the contribution of Muslim people in the democratisation process in Indonesia. One of the chapters in Kemendikbud's textbook (2015) for twelfth graders is about "Unified in Diversity and Democracy," in which one of its sub-chapters explains about "Islamic Scholar's Opinions on Democracy" that talks about Muslim scholar's opinions, both that reject and accept democracy conditionally. The weird thing is, there is no mention of any Indonesian Muslim cleric or scholar. Rather, the figures it uses as points of reference are Abul A'la Maududi, Mohammad Iqbal, Muhammad Imarah, Yusuf al-Qardhawi, and Salim Ali al-Bahasnawi. It should be noted that Indonesia also have prominent figures such as Soekarno, Agus Salim, Wakhid Hasyim, Muhammad Hatta, Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, Nurcholis Madjid, Abdurrahman Wahid, and many more. Obviously this lack of mention is not due to negligence or ignorance in part of the textbook writers. Instead, it is due the inferiority complex that makes them think Indonesian Muslim clerics/scholars are no good to be referred to as a source of knowledge and learning for Indonesian Muslim youths.

Conclusions

If the question in the previous sub-chapter is whether the IRE literatures in school and university have an inclusive or exclusive tendency, then the answer is inclusive with serious footnotes that must be considered. The main factor that makes them inclusive is the clarity and partiality of the government to the vision of education as the guardian of religious social coexistence, which includes Muslims and non-Muslims. However, without fixing the serious flaws in the IRE literatures, the inclusivity could be meaningless in constructing the student's understanding and attitude. It

could be that IRE becomes less attractive – a conclusion made by several other researches. As such, even though IRE has an inclusive nature, it still has low impact to the young generation. In other words, without improving the literatures' quality, the inclusive messages cannot be delivered.

Some concluding statements of this chapter are as follows: *First*, despite being inclusive, the IRE curriculum is not solid enough with its materials seeming to have no focus. A good example to prove this point is the discussion on tolerance in Kemenag's Al-Quran and a Hadiths textbook (2016) for eleventh-grade MA students that explains about "How Beautiful My Life is If I Have Tolerance and Etiquettes in Mingling with Others." Despite the appearace of being a call for tolerance, the content itself mostly discusses on restriction and danger in mingling with others of different faiths.

Second, the quality of IRE literatures in university is rather worrying. The recent rise in public's curiosity to religion, especially to Islam, should have been an opportunity to make IRE more interesting. Instead, IRE literatures in universities are not only unattractive, but also have low academic quality. This can be seen from the fact that most IRE literatures being used in universities have almost no references nor contain academic discussions, meaning that these literatures were not made seriously.

Third, the notes number two to number four in the previous sub-chapters need to be seriously considered, i.e. choices of concepts that should be used in order to avoid controversies, Islamism theology or Salafi that has been infiltrating student textbooks, and the importance of having confidence to put Indonesian Islamic clerics and scholars as well as their tradition as the source of knowledge and learning in IRE literatures. One of the recommendations we can give is to establish a proofreading institution to ensure the quality of IRE books.

Fourth, we have a classical problem to make IRE more attractive for teenagers. In university-level, note number two above is obviously clear: it

concerns the importance of making attractive and academic literatures for IRE. In high school/MA-level, existing literatures are already innovative with clear conceptual guidelines and attractive visual details that seem to get better from time to time. In terms of literature, the solidity of arguments must be strengthened.

Fifth, the references used by writers or contributors for IRE literatures in schools and universities often rely on what's available in the mainstream literatures. This is where we can see the correlation between literatures in schools and in the market. Thus, the authors should be selective with, and aware, of the map of literatures and ideological affinity of writers of the mainstream books.

CHAPTER 3

Production of Islam(ist) Discourse in Indonesia: Revitalisation of Public Islam and Political Muslim

Munirul Ikhwan

The production of Islamic discourse received a second wind with the fall of the authoritarian New Order regime in 1998. Indonesia welcomed a new era often referred to as *Reformasi*, which was marked by democratisation and freedom of speech and assembly. In this era, Islamic movements and groups, previously only operating clandestinely, rose to the surface and got themselves involved in the contestation and discussion on the role of Islam within the society and the state (Hilmy, 2010).

These Islamic groups participated in the contestation of religious discourse in the public space and introduced new actors to influence public opinions. Compared to the New Order era when the government strictly controlled Islamic activity and discourse in society, Islam in the era of Reformasi flourished in every part of the public space without state intervention due to the commitment to uphold democracy. Democratisation

in *Reformasi* has reduced the centrality of "state platform" and strengthened "street platforms" that introduce new discursive spaces within the society. Consequential of this transformation is the emergence of a new religious authority that competes with the old authority to monopolise public opinions, particularly opinions of the youth who grew up within a democratic climate and a "religious free market."

The production of religious discourse is often related with the production of Islamic literatures. Several studies on the production of Islamic discourse have been done by probing certain segments or topics. Martin van Bruinessen (2015) wrote about the "yellow holy book," which is a religious literature distributed within traditional pesantren (traditional Islamic school in Indonesia), and traced it back to the Kurdi scholar's tradition in Hijaz during the 19^{th} century. Howard Federspiel (1994) did a literature review on popular Al-Quran interpretation in the New Order era to see how far those interpretations reflect the socio-political context of the time and how far Sunni Islam and the revivalists have influenced the interpretations. Meanwhile, Michael R. Feener (2007) reviewed fiqh literatures written by Indonesian scholars to see the dynamic of Islamic law renewal to respond to social, culture and political realities in modern Indonesia.

Not much study has been attempted to further see the production of Islamic discourse in the *Reformasi*, when contestation among religious authorities occurred massively. C.W. Watson (2005) mapped Islamic books and Islamic publishers in order to see how far the plurality of religious literature had gone in a democratic Indonesia. It is as if the economic crisis that caused New Order regime to fall did not matter to the religious-discourse industry, including Islamic book publishing. On the contrary, Islamic publishing industry has flourished and introduced new actors to respond to new demand and readership. Outside of books, magazine publishing has also flourished as can be seen in kiosks and other strategic places in the urban realm. Since early 2000s, Islamic Book Fair has flourished in many cities of Indonesia,

and its attendance keeps increasing each year.[5] Other than being caused by the increasingly diverse demand of Islamic literatures, the increase of Islamic publishers can also be explained by the policy of deregulation and political liberalisation in the *Reformasi* era. Which was not the case in the New Order, everyone can now start any kind of publishing businesses, even only with small capital, without having to be apprehensive about state intervention or complicated procedures for permit.

However, Watson's study above did not probe further on how Islamic-discourse production affects millennial Muslims who grew up with a dilemma caused by the influence of global secular pop culture that does not go hand in hand with the religious and morality demand from their family and society. This study attempts to see how Islam and Islamist ideologies are communicated in order to effectively influence contemporary readers, especially the young ones. The focus on youth is based by the fact that juvenility is a time to find self-identity. In an elite's perspective, youth is seen not only as the heir of the nation, but also as a group vulnerable to being corrupted and radicalised. The youth live in a transition time between childhood – when they have no responsibility whatsoever – and adulthood when they have full responsibilities, such as for working and parenting (Bayat and Herrera, 2010: 3-6). Youth are often seen as a group most vulnerable to "moral panics," which cause them to actively seek references and answers, which includes consuming Islamic literatures that offer many solutions to morality problems.

The youth that we focus on in this research are those enrolled in high schools (or educational institutions in the same level) and universities. This study argues that youth nowadays tend to be dissatisfied with only consuming classroom Islamic literatures that only refer to the national curriculum. The government obviously plays its role in making a religious

5 For example, see Jakarta Islamic Book Fair that records an increase of selling each year, http://islamic-bookfair.com/page/detail/ibf-dari-masa-ke-masa, accessed on 29th January 2018.

teaching curriculum that aligns with its policy, but we believe that it still allows room for errors caused by the inclusion of 'inappropriate' religious topics in the class as a result of interpretation and improvisation made by teachers and lecturers. Such cases can encourage youth to seek additional external references – literatures in the "free market" – in order to find alternative solutions for their moral panic. In terms of producing religious discourse, the role of Islamic literatures outside of class is to capture, direct, visualise and give ideological emphases on Islamic concepts not explained in detail by standard classroom literatures, such as *da'wah*, *hijrah*, hijab, *caliphate*, and jihad. This study attempts to see how the religious discourse gets introduced in religious literatures outside of class, and just which actors and authorities are involved in the production of religious discourse.

The Sociology of Islamism and Revitalisation of Public Islam

One of the most prominent phenomena from the democratic transformation in Indonesia is the revitalisation of public space. In modern democratic theories, democratisation does not only refer to the existence of democratic election but, more importantly, the diversity of power in public and the development of public space caused by the emergence of public space and participatory culture, in which differing arguments by citisens can be a legitimate foundation for political and social actions (Hefner, 2003: 158). Albeit far from ideal, democratisation in Indonesia since 1998 has opened up new spaces for public contestation and debates. The growth of democracy in Muslim-majority countries, such as Indonesia, is also an anti-thesis for Samuel Huntington's argument (1996: 29, 114), which says that democratic principles cannot be implemented in most cultures, including Islamic cultures, as those cultures are believed to contradict Western liberal values.[6]

6 In regards to the relation between Islam and democracy, Asef Bayat (2007: 10) believes that the question on whether Islam aligns or not with democracy (and modernity) is an incorrect question. He believes that the right question is "under what circumstances are Muslim people unable to run a democracy." Thus, democracy should not be related to an intrinsic problem of a certain religion.

The democratic climate sustained by the increase of education level among Muslim people and the appearance of new communication media have contributed greatly in creating and revitalizing public spaces where most people from different educational, political and professional background can freely express their opinions on religious and political issues. The emergence of new actors in public spaces causes a destabilisation of conventional political and religious authorities, and pushes forward issues such as public benefits and religious (Islamic) interpretations into public discussions. This situation creates a phenomenon known as "public Islam," a very diverse Islamic calling by scholars, politicians, employees, students, housewives, and society in general that introduces Islamic ideas and practices into public debates. Furthermore, the contestation of public Islam turns Islam into an "authenticity" factor in the configuration of socio-political life, including as a way to project alternative social and political realities (Salvatore and Eickelman, 2004: xii).

One of an important drivers of Islamism is the Muslim youth who take an active role in organizing religious gatherings, political mobilisations, and the usage of religious symbols in public space. In the face of social and political sorrows, both in global and domestic levels, Muslim youth absorb many different political ideologies and religiosities in order to put a distance with the moral standard held by their parents and to express their political opinions with existing political institutions within the state (Smith-Hefner, 2007; Hasan, 2006; Machmudi, 2008). They expressed their freedom of choice that is facilitated by democratisation and directed by their educational institution.

The appearance of political Islam in the era of *Reformasi* was not limited to the aspiration to return to the glory of Islam by challenging every aspect of modernity. Islamism in Indonesia nowadays is actually driven by urban Muslims from big cities such as Jakarta, Bogor, Bandung, Yogyakarta and

Solo.[7] Islamist movements first emerged from religious organisations in high school level (Rohis) and college level (LDK), before finally spreading to urban Muslim communities. The youth Islamist movements expressed their dissatisfaction with the state's structure in the New Order regime. The fall of the New Order became a momentum for Islamism to take a space in public by criticizing state symbols believed to have contradicted Islamic values, such as the state ideology of Pancasila and the 'secular' economic and national law system. Islamist groups believe that Indonesia is doomed for great economic crises because it does not adopt Islamic sharia and system. They believe that Islam is the only solution for all of this country's problems.

Islamist groups go public and throw Islamism issues by questioning the relevance of Pancasila as a state foundation. Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), which had never discussed about alternative system to replace democracy and state system and previously only operated clandestinely, began to popularise their jargon of "caliphate." Puritan groups are also starting to be more blatant in accusing state symbols and local cultures as something astray and infidel, because they contradict their exclusive interpretation. Jamaah Tarbiyah has also spread its wings in public bureaucracies and parliaments to rule the nation. However, Islamism has never succeeded in completely conquering the nation. Political support to Islamist movements has only been demure since the 2009 general election. Pancasila as the symbol of Indonesia has never been overthrown from its position either (Ikhwan, 2015: 120-122); instead, it has been strengthened by the establishment of Unit Kerja Presiden Pemantapan Ideologi Pancasila (UKP-PIP), which was later followed by the establishment of Pancasila research centrein state campuses. The increase in the state's strength due to the support from mainstream Muslim groups lately will potentially limit

7 By observing the trend of Islamism in Islamic world during late 20th century, Olivier Roy (1994: 50) sees that Islamism is not oriented to the lifestyle of middle-age Islam by refusing modernity. Islamism movement in general are urban in nature, since majority of their sympathisers are modernists in Muslim community. Therefore, Roy concludes that Islamism is a product of modernity, not a reaction to it.

the Islamist' operation network. This explains why Islamist groups must offer more innovative Islamic discourse in order to work effectively within a very competitive landscape.

Islamic literatures constitute one of the media to produce, transmit and disseminate Islamic discourse in public space. Key actors or producers of religious discourse are generally dominated by the so-called "new scholars." These are newly educated people who do not "purely" represent any scholarship tradition in pesantren. The new scholars came from different religious background. Some of them work in an intellectual project to combine traditional Islam and modern Islam while others take the puritanism path, such as by joining Salafi-Wahabi group or ideological Islam movements like Muslim Brotherhood and Hizbut Tahrir (Machmudi, 2008: 23). The first group, or the so-called neo-modernist (Barton, 1995) or post-traditionalist (Feener, 2007), got their momentum to produce their discourse during the New Order era and early *Reformasi*, while the latter got their momentum exclusively during *Reformasi*. Islamism got its momentum within national religious discourse as "progressive Islam" loses its prestige and support from the public who underwent a transformation of piety.

The success of Islamism discourse, which is marked by its influence within Muslim youth, is closely related to the success of "*hijrah* (to move)" propaganda. The concept of hijrah is the core in Islamism discourse. This concept demands us to "not only be a Muslim" but also to "move/change" into a pious and "complete" muslim, one who commits to the kinship of universal Muslim or a Muslim who dares to leave "non-Islamic" ideology, culture and value. Urban youth – and adult to some extent – who, at some point, were frustrated with the materialistic and liberal lifestyles find hijrah doctrine attractive. The hijrah doctrine promises its followers a more meaningful life and a guaranteed ticket to heaven. This explains why Islamism is strong among urban Muslims who are still 'floating' within the general tradition of Islam.

Islamist Discourse in a Free Market of Literatures

Jose Casanova, a SIREn sociologist, captured a 1980s global phenomenon when religion reappeared in public and became a hot topic for discussion. He called this phenomenon as "de-privatisation of religion," which refers to how religion refuses to be placed within a marginal and private sphere by secular modernisation theories (Casanova, 1994: 5). Casanova attempted to debunk the normative doctrine of secularisation theory that explains how modern society needs to be secular, and thus religion must be placed within a non-political private sphere. In other words, Casanova refuses the idea that secularisation is an intrinsic element of modernity, since society can be modern without necessarily be secular.

Indonesia is not excluded from the impact of this global trend, especially after political Islam was repressed under the New Order regime. Many political Islamic figures attempt the cultural (non-political) path to continue their missionary mission. This process was not only played by local actors. Transnational ideologies also have a role in 'Islamisation' and further penetration of Wahabi Salafism, which is related to Saudi Arabia's geo-political policy and driven by the 1970s oil boom. Hizbut Tahrir and Jamaah Tarbiyah entered the fray in 1980s to further increase the contestation of Islamism within society, especially among urban people and college students.

By utilizing the democratisation process after 1998, discourse on Islamism was getting more popular and diverse. This was the consequence of contemporary development in which Islam was "more visible" in the social and political life of Indonesian people, which was marked by the increase of religious congregations and the expansions of Islamic symbols, clothing and idioms in public space. At the beginning, the Islamist discourse was mostly sustained by the mass translation of Islamist works during the 2000s. The passion towards Islamism during *Reformasi* required a lot of supply of literatures. The Cairo International Book Fair was a key

destination for national publishers to buy Islamic books and translate them into Bahasa Indonesia. They recruited Indonesian students in Egypt or other alumni from the Middle-East for the process of translation. Other than their network and goal to present a variety of literatures, translation works were opted for since the huge market was not yet populated by a production of Islamic discourse by national writers.

Most Islamic literatures circulating among Muslim millenials can generally be categorised into 3 patterns: ideological Islam, puritanism, and popular piety. The ideological Islam pattern can mostly be found within the literatures of Jihadi, Tahriri and Tarbawi. Topics of puritanism are found in Salafi literatures that make *sanad* texts as a standard for their purificiation paradigm. As for popular piety, motivation and self-help, most are found within popular Islamism literature. These topics have a very wide scope, written by writers from many different backgrounds, organisations, tendencies and ideologies.

This Islamic discourse can be seen as a political expression of Muslims. Indeed, it is true that not every Islamic discourse is inherently a political action. Books that discuss Muslim women's clothing, Islamic motivation, and guidelines for youth relationship are not explicitly political. However, Islamic discourse can be seen as a part of "Muslim politics" when they are transformed into public religious symbols. These symbols are made by and merged with individuals and a group's identity and aspirations to resist the state's symbols and to counter what they refer to as secular ideologies, syncretic Islam, and liberal Islam. In other words, an Islamic discourse can be seen as a political action when it indicates a resistance to a state's authority and attempt to contest other authorities in order to influence public opinions and social orders (Eickelman and Piscatori, 1996: 4-5). Therefore, studying the production of Islamic discourse in the era of *Reformasi* requires an observation to the potential of capitalizing certain Islamic interpretations for political actions and interests. Actors who

produce, reproduce, and disseminate Islamic discourse are also actors and sympathisers of political Islam.

1. Topics of Ideological Islam

The most revolutionary, radical, and dangerous Islamism ideology for any state and society in general is contained within Jihadi literatures. These literatures contain a doctrine on the obligation of jihad as a form of making war and taking arms against the 'enemies' of Islam. Jihad is indeed the most debatable concept within contemporary thoughts of Islam. The debates circulated on whether jihad should always be interpreted as war, taking arms, or a justification for violence, or if it is actually a generic concept that encompasses every form of sincere resistance (in the name of religion), including jihad in a form of war to defend a religion and uphold justice. In this study, jihadism is seen from a sociological perspective that defines it as an ideology or movement from certain Islamic groups who use violence and physical approaches as their expression – or anything formulated by Jihadi thinkers in their writings or actions.

There are certain general patterns used by Jihadi activists to justify violence and jihadism. They usually begin by spreading alarmist discourse (to scare people) like how Islam's enemies are close and have conquered Muslim community's lifeline; how they want to destroy Islam, separating Muslims from their religious teaching and weakening the economic and political power of Islam. In this kind of situation, they make a propaganda on the obligation of jihad (war) for each Muslim individual by attacking symbols and strategic posts of the "enemies of religion." Generally, they define the enemies of religion by using slogans such as Anti-America (Western), Anti-Jews (Zionism), and Anti-Christianity.

Jihadism was introduced to Indonesia during the 1980s when several Indonesians were involved in Afghanistan's war against the Soviet Union that was deemed as the promotor of communism. Jihadism then became

popular in Indonesia, especially after the fall of the New Order regime when Indonesia was entering a transition phase and the state was having no full control to social, political and religious problems that entailed due to the economic and political crises in the late 1990s. Responding the socio-religious conflict in Maluku, hundreds of thousands of jihadi soldiers who had formed Laskar Jihad gathered in Senayan, a strategic place near national political and business centers by taking up swords, screaming their praises to God, and readying themselves for a war against the "enemy of Islam." The armed forces were dominated by bearded youths wearing *turban* and *jalabiyah* – jihad symbols to convey their commitment to defending Muslim people who were 'opressed'[8] by other Muslims.

Another context behind the popularity of Jihadism includes Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), a transnational Jihadi group in Southeast Asia with network in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Philippines. It was founded in Malaysia in 1993 by Abdullah Sungkar, who in 1998 started to concentrate in Indonesia. JI was involved in a series of attacks in 2000s: the attack to a church in Medan and other regions in 2000; the bombing of the Philippines' Embassy in 2000; the first Bali Bombing in 2002 and the second one in 2005, and; the bombing of JW Mariott Hotel in 2003 and 2009. Many of JI's operational activists were veterans of the Afghanistan's war against the Soviet Union. Its ideology is generally formed of radical thoughts by Middle-Eastern thinkers such as Abdullah Azzam, Said Hawwa and Sayyid Qutb (Fealy, 2004).

The popularisation of jihadi discourse has mostly been sustained by the production of Jihadi literatures that started to flourish after 1998. A report from International Crisis Group (ICG 2008) shows that the publication of jihadi literature in 2000s, although small, kept on growing and becoming key references for the dissemination of Jihadi thoughts. This Jihadi literature

8 Noorhaidi Hasan (2006) argues that this Laskar Jihad is basically only making a "performance." They see an opportunity to use Maluku as a huge platform and arena to shape their heroic image.

was used as a reference for Jihadi indoctrination, discussion and training. Among those in circulation todays are *Tarbiyah Jihadiyah* by Abdullah Azzam, a thinker and one of the founders of al-Qaeda who was also mentor to Osama bin Laden; *Jihad Jalan Kami* by Abdul Baqi Ramdhun; *al-Wala' wa al-Barra'* by Muhammad Said al-Qahtani; *Kafir Tanpa Sadar* by Abdul Qadir bin Abdul Aziz; *Harakah Jihad Ibnu Taimiyah* by Abdurrahman bin Abdul Khaliq; *39 Cara Membantu Mujahidin* by Muhammad bin Ahmad as-Salam, and; *Muslimah Berjihad* by Yusuf al-Uyairi.

Jihadi literature is the least popular among millennial youth. Indeed, its discourse and movements have seen a downward trend since 2010.[9] Still, Jihadi literature can be seen circulating among students in one way or another (see the patterns of consumption and transmission in the later chapter of this book). The tendency of students to consume and sympathise are generally driven by family and environmental factors. Jihadi literature has been circulated and consumed by youth in Surakarta (Solo) and Bogor (Hasan, 207; Ulinnuha 2017). The accessibility in Solo can be explained by the high number of Solo-based Jihadi publishers. Furthermore, Solo is the basis of prominent Jihadi figures such as Abu Bakar Ba'Asyir, who has been a mentor for many Jihadi combatans. Meanwhile, the accessibility of this type of literature in Bogor can be explained by the fact that Bogor is one of the important grounds for Jihadi group's military training.

Tarbiyah Jihadiyyah by Abdullah Azzam is the most popular Jihadi literature among youth. This book is comprised of 16 chapters and 3 volumes in its Bahasa translations by Jazeera publisher. It contains jihad doctrines, the ideal characteristic of a Jihadist, and the author's experience

9 Some explanations are in order for this phenomenon. *First*, the government's deradicalisation program has managed to suppress the distribution and development of jihadi discourse. *Second*, several jihadi activists were facing social, political and economic dilemma in sustaining Jihadi ideology. They were facing structural challenges from the state as the only legitimate owner of repressive means. They were also facing opposition and pressure from majority Muslims who were harmed by Jihadi activists' "representation of Islam." Moreover, Jihadi activists were facing economic difficulties because the government blocks their logistic sources.

during the war in Afghanistan against the communist government of Soviet Union. In the book, the author claims that jihad is the core of Islam and thus it is an obligation that must be fulfilled until the end of time. "Jihad is an obligation that binds every Muslim after his or her first good deed was noted…" By quoting Ibnu Taimiyyah "*Laisa ba'da al-īmān billāh syai'un aujaba min daf'i al-ṣa'il 'ala al-ḥurmah wa al-dīn* (The obligation to fight enemy of religion is second only to our faith to Allah," Azzam wrote that Jihad must take precedence over any kind of prayer obliged to a Muslim, which includes: five-times-a-day prayer (*shalat*), fasting, paying taxes (*zakat*) and pilgrimage to Mecca (hajj). According to Azzam, stopping Jihad is equal to stopping the heart of Islam since the history of Islam is no other than a history of battles with "sword" in one hand and al-Al-Quran in the other. If Jihad were stopped, then Islam would be no more (Azzam 2013, I, 159-60).

Jihadi is an ideology of violence based on a literal and biased interpretation of hadiths on jihad and war as well as Al-Quran scriptures. Azzam makes many references to hadiths in order to justify the ideology over any form of prayer, such as the hadiths narrated by Ibnu Hibban, "*la an urābiṭa yauman fī sabīlillāh aḥabbu ilayya min an aqūma lailat al-qadr 'inda al-hajar al-aswad* (I will appreciate waging war in the name of Allah for one day much more than a prayer conducted on *lailatul qadr* in front of *aswad*)" and by Muslim: "*man māta wa lam yaghzū wa lam yuḥaddits bihī nafsahu māt 'alā syu'bah wa nifāq* (whoever dies and never wages war nor prepares themselves for it will die as an infidel and a hypocrite)" (Azzam, 2013, I: 163-65). Azzam is basically saying that Islam cannot be upheld without jihad, and that jihad can only be conducted by waging wars. "Rasulullah has explained that a sword can erase sins. Heaven is located under the shadow of a blade. Tauhid stands on a sword and he was sent with a sword to uphold tauhid on the face of earth" (Azzam, 2013, I: 273).

In case of Solo (Hasan, 2017), another jihadi book consumed by

millennial youth is *Tathbi Syariah: Menimbang Penguasa yang Menolak Syariat* by Abdul Aziz, published by Media Islamika. This book contains many strong expressions of *takfir* (accusing someone of infidelity). It mentions that a Muslim leader has an obligation to implement sharia and tauhid doctrine. Any legal product must be aligned with the sharia. If a leader did not deliver his obligation, he is potentially an infidel (no longer Islam), a follower of *thaghut*. In this kind of condition, the Muslim community must break any association that they have with that leader. This book makes a lot of references to decrees and legal opinions of Salafi scholars such as Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab Muhammad bin Ibrahum Alu al-Syaikh, Abdurrahman al-Sya'di, Abdullah Azzam, Salman Audah, and Najih Ibrahim ('Abd al-Aziz, 2007).

Other jihadi literature accessed by students in Solo is *Muslimah Berjihad: Peran Wanita di Medan Jihad* by Yusuf al-'Uyairi et al. By quoting Jihadi thinkers such as Abdullah Azzam, Abd al-Baqi Abd al-Qadir Ramdhun, Abdullah Ahmad Qadiri, Ali Nufa'i al-Ulyani, and Salman Fahd al-Audah, the authors want to affirm the fact that jihad means war against the "infidel" ('Uyairi, 2007: 18-19). This book explains the role and contribution of female Muslim in jihad. Stories of *mujahidah* (female jihadist) since the time of the Prophet were used to strengthen their argument on the importance of women's role. Despite mentioning hadiths and scholarly opinions that exclude women's role in jihad, this book made it explicit that women must also play a role in jihad. Women are obliged to fight if they are attacked, chosen by their leader, and confronted by enemies in the battleground ('Uyairi, 2007: 73). The contexts of conflict in several Muslim regions such as Burma, Afghanistan, Philippines, and Pakistan were made as the basis for women's obligation to jihad. In other words, the authors are saying that jihad for female Muslim is a must (*fardhu'ain*).

The second pattern of ideological Islamic discourse can be seen within Tahriri literature. After the enactment of the Government Regulation in lieu

of Law No. 2/2017, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) has no longer shown its activities in public. HTI appears to go back to its clandestine root to avoid unwanted social and political consequences. However, it does not mean that the circulation of Tahriri discourse will stop following the banning. It should be noted that there are no legal consequences whatsoever that limits the movement of ex-HTI figures; thus the circulation of Tahriri literature still continues. It is still circulated within school and campus ground, and are still being sold in large bookstores such as Gramedia, Togamas and Social Agency. This means that the demand for and readership of Tahriri literatures still remain high.

Works by Hizbut Tahrir thinkers such as Taqiyudin al-Nabhani (1909-1977) and Abd al-Qadim Zallum (1924-2003) were not found in large quantity among students. It can be assumed that these "core" Tahriri writings were only consumed by HTI cadres and only circulated within their community. Those Tahriri books are actually still being sold in special bookstores unknown to the public. For example, al-Azhar bookstore in Banjarmasin specifically provides Tahriri literature of many types, from al-Nabhani's books to Koran Media Umat, al-Warie magazine, and Buletin Kaffah. This bookstore is relatively unknown to the public (Rafiq, 2017).

Literature on Tahriri ideology that is popular among students is usually packaged with self-help narratives or historic fictions. One of the most popular is *Beyond the Inspiration*[10] by Felix Y. Siauw, an orator, motivator as well as a productive Tahriri writer. In this book, he argues that God's enlightenment does not appear due to fate, but choice. Thus, he believes

10 *Beyond the Inspiration* is opened with a preface from Rokhmin Dahuri, the former Minister of Fisheries and Marine Affairs and professor of marine development in IPB. Dahuri highlights two artificial systems, communism and capitalism, that have dominated the world order since the fall of Usmaniyah empire in Turkey in 1924 causing the failure to deliver mankind into their original purpose. According to Dahuri, communism has failed due to the implementation of *Glasnost* and *Perestroika* by Michael Gorbachev in 1989, while capitalism has shown many failures from the 1930 Great Depression and the global crises that came after it. Therefore, the only way for mankind to live in happiness, herein or hereafter, is to implement Islam in a *kaffah* (complete) manner (Siauw, 2014).

that mankind should begin to choose since God's enlightenment has been sent by The Prophet Muhammad PBUH. According to Felix, the problem of mankind is that human beings "know" about God's enlightenment, but they do "nothing" to realise that enlightenment. Mankind often hides behind emergency situations and grey areas as excuses to not implement God's enlightenment (Siauw, 2014: 55-63). Felix seems to attempt to build a logic that *bisayarah* (good news) can only come if Islam has been implemented in a complete manner. The good news can be seen in the subjugation of territories formerly ruled by non-Muslims such as the Constantinople, which was previously ruled by the Byzantium Christian Empire (Siauw, 2014: 191-94). In the book's epilogue, Felix gives a conclusion that explicitly shows his affinity to HTI ideology. He believes that "caliphate" is the only legitimate form of government according to Islam. By quoting the narrative that "*there will be no more prophet after Muhammad, only khalifahs* (Emperors)," Felix basically says that the Prophet does not only gave examples but also orders. Caliphate is seen as the only social, political and religious order that can ensure a kaffah implementation of Islam and the realisation of other Islamic conquests (Siauw, 2014: 262-63).

To convince his readers on the urgency of caliphate, Siauw gives an illustration by reinventing the history of the Ottoman Empire, particularly the conquest of Constantinople. Siauw glorifies Sultan Mehmed II and the Ottoman's caliphate institution. Sultan Mehmed II, also known as Muhammad al-Fatih, is depicted by Siauw as a *par excellence* model for a conqueror. He even wrote a book specifically for the Sultan titled *Muhammad al-Fatih 1453*, to discuss about the gait of a generation that he considered successful in the complete implementation of Islam's way and pursuing a global mission to liberate the world, just as mentioned in the Prophet's hadiths. As a young king of 21 years old, Sultan Muhammad II was able to subjugate Constatinople in 1453. In Felix's narrative, al-Fatih is a figure that represents the true spirit of Islam, especially during the

stagnancy of the Arab dynasty in expanding Islam's territories. Through this book, Felix attempts to convince his reader to be the next generation of Muslim conquerors that will answer the call from hadiths to subjugate the rest of Christianity's heart, Rome. All of it can be realised by upholding caliphate that will guarantee a complete implementation of Islam's way (Siauw, 2016: 314).

Another popular Tahriri literature also uses tropes found in the historical fiction genre, which is apparently popular among millennial Muslim nowadays. This generation needs motivation and inspiration to deal with structural and piety challenges. The complicated ideology of Islamism can be consumed more easily through illustrations, narratives and fervor-inducing languages. *The Chronicles of Draculesti* novel series made by a young author, Sayf Muhammad Isa, attempts to fill the historical fiction segment in order to socialise Tahriri ideology. Initially, the novel was published by D'rise Publishing of Sukabumi and then got reprinted by Khilafah Press. This novel took an ideological inspiration from Felix Siauw who reinvented the glory of the Ottoman Empire as its model.

Felix Siauw did notice Isa's work due to having similar vision and mission. Siauw then invited Isa to collaborate in modifying that novel, which was then published under a new title, Chronicles of Ghazi, by Alfatih Press. It can be safely assumed that the purpose of renaming is to give an emphasis on the Muslim hero (Ghazi) instead of his enemy (Dracula). The Ottoman Empire being used as its setting makes sense since the Empire does offer arguments for caliphate propaganda and indoctrination. The Ottoman Empire does not only offer a sustainable model of 'caliphate', but also represents a Europe-conqueror regime (from the East), which used to be a serious threat to the Roman Empire due to its expansive power.

As a historical fiction, this novel modifies historical figures and events as fiction. The novel highlights the prowess of Sultan and his Ottoman army during the Crusade against the Christian knights of Dragon Order

(Dracul). The strength of the Ottoman army is shown by its success in destroying armies who belong to Sigismund von Luxembourg, the King of Hungary (since 1387), King of Bohemia (since 1419), King of Lombardy (since 1431), and the Holy Roman Emperor (1433-1437), who is also depicted as the founder of the Dragon Order and its Christian Knight who was tasked to stop Ottoman's expansion (Isa and Siauw, 2016b). The triumph of the Ottoman army is the main narrative of this novel, which ends with the conquest of Constantinople by Sultan Mehmed II in 1453 and the conversion of Hagia Sophia church into a mosque. An ideological statement can be explicitly seen by the way the authors narrate the Constantinople's subjugation as merely a starting point (Isa and Siauw, 2016a; 578) for the next conquest on the rest of Christian territories under the banner of caliphate.

The production of Tahriri discourse also appears as a bulletin. After the dissolution of HTI, Tahriri bulletins such as *al-Islam*, *al-Wa'ie* and *Suara Islam* are no longer circulating. New bulletin *Kaffah* has been identified in several universities, but it does not publish contents that can explicitly lead to Tahriri ideology. Tahriri discourse does still appear in bulletins 'identified' as Tahriri's sympathisers, such as the bulletin published by Andalusia Islamic Centrein Sekolah Tinggi Ekonomi Islam (STEI) Tazkia Bogor. In its 211th edition on August 4th 2017, this bulletin discussed the thought of Taqiyudin al-Nabhani on the falsehood of nationalism and nation-state as a political affiliation as it is a legacy of colonisers. The bulletin stated that should Muslims remain cowers to the coloniser's nationalism, then they are still being colonised. According to al-Nabhani, the ideological affiliation that provides comprehensive solution for every mankind's problem and able to fight capitalism is "Islam's ideology," not nationalism. In fact, nationalism or patriotism is considered *haram* as it takes precedence over Islam's theology. Nationalism has divided the universal bond of Muslim community. Caliphate is considered as a solution as it will be a global

state that encompasses all nations, races, skin colors, and even religions (Ulinnuha, 2017).

The third pattern of ideological Islamic discourse can be found within Tarbawi literature. Unlike Tahriri literature that explicitly demand the implementation of caliphate in order to guarantee a *kaffah* Islam, Tarbawi literature prefers to emphasise strategic implementation of sharia in several levels, which in turn will form the backbone of an Islamic state. Books from Tarbawi thinkers such as Hasan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb and Said Hawwa are still circulating among Tarbawi students. Tarbawi modules for each level are circulated widely especially in Bandung and Yogyakarta (Suhadi, 2017). Examples include *Keakhwatan: Bersama Tarbiyah Bersama Ukhti Muslimah Tunaikan Amanah 1-4* BY Cahyadi Takariawan et al.*; Dahsyat Mentoring for Teenager* by Noferiyanto, and; *Agenda Materi Tarbiyah: Panduan Da'i dan Murabbi* by Ummu Yasmin.

The most popular Tarbawi literature among youth is that which can translate Tarbawi ideology into popular language. Most of them are delivered as a "motivational" literature. *Saksikan Bahwa Aku Seorang Muslim* by Salim A. Fillah, for example, conveys the characteristic of a true Muslim who is consistent in practicing Islam and will not trade it with any form of luxury. In order to be a true Muslim, A. Fillah identifies several traits of 'ignorance (*jahilliyah*)' that can reduce or cancel the quality of a true Muslim. He criticises Mu'tazilah rationality as a spiritual banality. He then argues that Mu'tazilah banality triggers the emergence of ignorant spirituality and mysticism not taken from The Prophet's teachings, nor his friend's and first generation of Muslim's, but instead taken from Christian clerics, Brahmanism in Hindu, and Buddhist' apathy. These forms of misdeeds and mysticisms are argued by A. Fillah as an ignorant trait that infiltrates and endangers Muslim's religiosity (Fillah, 2007: 67-69). A. Fillah also gives harsh criticism to proponents of democracy, liberalism, pluralism and gender equality. He accuses those people as a threat to Muslims and

the kaffah Islam (Fillah, 2007: 73). In *Jalan Cinta Para Pejuang* (2008), A. Fillah explains what he calls as models of resistance that are said to inspire movement. Other than accentuating the experience and movement of the Sahabah (friends of Prophet Muhammad PBUH), he also gives his appreciation for Muslim Brotherhood that he deems revolutionary and consistent in implementing their religious and political project to resist Egypt's rulers (Fillah, 2008: 139-40). The Tarbawi's ideological narrative always presents a binary opposition between the kaffah Islam and the ignorant traits introduced by Sayyid Qutb, and always criticises liberal Muslims by saying that they have no real result (Fillah, 2008: 64-66).

Tarbiyah's ideology is formulated in popular, urban and modern jargons such as "*quantum Tarbiyah*" and "*super murabbi,*" which was first popularised by Solikhin Abu Izzudin. The ideology is apparent in the formulation of Tarbiyah vision that always wants to "make a Muslim Muslim": building a kaffah Muslim personality, a proficient Islamic scholar, a servitude personality, and a "politician" prepared to pioneer changes. By quoting a Tarbiyah figure, Anis Matta, Abu Izzudin affirms that Tarbiyah is a "huge project" that can only be implemented by those with heroic nature. What he means by heroic individuals are Tarbiyah cadres who have been galvanised by this project to kickstart a great leap forward (Abu Izzudin, 2009: 130-33, 139). The indoctrination of Tarbiyah is held within a small communal circle known as "*halaqah.*" Cadres are indoctrinated that *halaqah* is the representation of paradise in this world, and *murabbi* (coordinator) has a central role in sustaining this "paradise." Murabbi is depicted as akin to a living book who continues on living and producing missionaries – following the steps of Hasan al-Banna. Murabbi is a missionary worker and a teacher who will always be missed (Abu Izzudin, 2012: 55-58).

2. Religious Puritanism

Topics of puritanism are generally found in Salafi literature. What we

mean by Salafi here is the Salafi-Wahabi who is known for its discursive and apolitical stance. Salafi (apolitical) is known for its opposition to political movement such as Muslim Brotherhood. Its influence in Saudi Arabia can be seen from the rise of *shahwah Islamiyyah* (Reemergence of Islam) movement. The production of Salafi discourse in Indonesia is mostly facilitated by alumni of Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Islam dan Bahasa Arab (LIPIA) of Jakarta, which is a branch of Muhammad bin Saud University in Riyadh. Many of those alumni have built schools, campuses, book publishers and also some book producers. Salafi discourse is mostly about religious purification, *amal nabawi* and *salaf al-salih*. They are mostly attractive to traditional Islamists, since they problematise many religious problems considered to be impure and without the Prophet's stamp of approval.

Salafi's ideological books such as *Kitab al-Tauhid* by Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab and *Fath al-Majid* by Abdurrahman bin Hasan Alu al-Syaikh were widely used as the framework of Salafi literature. *Kitab al-Tauhid* contains tauhid doctrine (Allah is One) with a strict definition. The meaning of *syirik* in *Kitab al-Tauhid* includes having your prayer being said by others, giving a similar level of compliance to both religious figures and God, giving a similar level of love to someone as you would give to God, seeking benefits from things, and asking for help from someone other than God ('Abd al-Wahhab 2008). On a glance, those definitions can be accepted from a certain perspective. However, the narratives, explanations and their practices are mostly used to judge fellow Muslim's faith, resulting in a backlash from people who disagree with Salafi-Wahabi's interpretation. Other than books, the Salafi ideology is also produced in the form of magazines such as as-Sunnah, al-Furqon, asy-Syariah, Qanita, Fawaid, adz-Dzakirah, al-Islamiyah, an-Nashihah, Qudwah, Tashfiyah, Akhwat, and Sakinah.

Hadiths forms the backbone of Salafi literature. In a Salafi university such as Sekolah Tinggi Dirasat Islamiyah Imam Syafi'I Jember, books based

on hadiths such as *Sahih Bukhari, Sahih Muslim, al-Adab al-Mufrad,* and *Nail al-Authar* are the main references and backbones of Salafi discourse. As for the students, hadiths books such as *al-Arba'in al-Nawawi*, *Riyadh al-Shalihin* and *Bulugh al-Maram* are commonly used among Rohis and LDK activisits. While it is true that those hadiths books can be categorised as a fluid Islamic literature, the annotations given by Salafi figures such as Muhammad bin Salih al-Utsaimin, Nasir al-Din al-Albani and Yazid bin Abdul Qadir Jawaz infer that the literature is meant to be interpreted using Salafi perspectives.

The *Syarah Arba'in an-Nawawi* book, which contains commentaries from Yazid bin Abdul Qadir Jawas, for example, makes various references to authoritative Salafi figures such as Salih Fauzan al-Fauzan, Salih al-'Utsaimin and Nashiruddin Al-Albani. In terms of hadiths validity, the author makes a reference to Al-Albani as its main source. The Salafi nuance is strong in this book especially when the author explains a certain *syarah*. For example, in the part where the book discusses whether intention to pray should be said aloud or not, Yazid said that " … scholars have decreed that proclaiming your intention to make a prayer is wrong and stray far from the Prophet's guidance (Jawwaz, 2016:26)." This conclusion is used to argue against Imam Syafi'i's followers in Indonesia who are used to proclaiming their intention (Sunarwoto, 2017).

Other than a doctrine of purification, Salafi discourse is highly against Shia. In an edition of Qonitah magazine (vol. 24/2), for example, there was an anti-Shia article titled, "The Fall of Women's Dignity in the Clasp of Shia" and "Shia's Brutality to Women and Children." Shia is depicted as the most dangerous form of infidelity that could happen not only to the religious ignorant and rascal but also to scholars. Other than being anti-Shia, Salafi discourse is also anti-tasawuf. In an edition of Qudwah Magazine (Vol. 32/3), tasawuf is depicted as a practice of worship built upon laziness that leads to foolishness (Burdah, 2017).

3. Popular Piety

Topics of popular piety are generally found in popular Islamism literature that tend to be packaged in fiction and motivation books that can inspire the readers to stay committed (*istiqamah*) to religious teaching under any circumstances. Unlike the more ideological Islamic literatures, popular Islamism literature put more emphasis on religious morality, public piety, and motivation for religious livelihood. This type of literature is considered Islamist since it promotes Islam not only as an individual aspiration, but also as a socio-political order to a certain level.

Literatures on personal piety are the most distributed among Muslim youths. They are read by students from different ideologies and affiliations. Content-wise, they offer inspiration and illustration for Muslims to be able to compete in today's society. In general, this genre of literature is a fictional story of Muslim adventures abroad, especially in countries that are considered advanced in science, technology, economics, and politics, but inhabited by many non-Muslims. Although far from Muslim countries, the protagonist's commitment to religion never wavers and does not become an obstacle in a global competition. This literature accentuates the Muslim missionary's "sacred mission" in correcting negative stereotyping of Islam and Muslims in the West.

Topics of personal piety can be found, for example, in the novel *99 Cahaya di Langit Eropa* by Hanum Salsabiela Rais and Rangga Almahendra. This novel tells a story about the adventure of a female Muslim and her husband in Europe. By bringing up an issue of pressure as a minority, the authors try to formulate the concept of an ideal Muslim in a predominantly non-Muslim country. The authors describe the Muslim's situation in Europe who lives under constant prejudices and stereotypes following the events of 911 attack in New York, bombings in London and Madrid, and the controversy surrounding a cartoonish depiction of Prophet Muhammad and the film *Fitna* by Geert Wilders. This novel depicts a Muslim's mission to "correct"

negative opinions about Islam circulating in many Western societies. According to the authors, negative opinions about Islam are deliberately made and disseminated. They cite *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le Prophète* written by the French philosopher Voltaire for a play. This screenplay, as the novelists describe, tells about how Zayd bin Harithah, the Prophet's adopted son, had the heart to kill his own father because of a fanaticism on the teachings of the Prophet's religion. The Muslim in that novel denies the screenplay and "corrects" the "wrong" understanding, claiming that the story is not based on historical facts (Rais and Almahendra 2016, 135-36).

The topic of pious motivation wrapped in a sharia romance is also found in *Ayat-Ayat Cinta* (2007) by Habiburrrahman El Shirazy. The author tells the story of Fahri, an Indonesian prodigious student who studies at al-Azhar University, who is depicted as a role model for a perfect Muslim man. Fahri is depicted as a straight and religious figure who places religion above other predicates under any circumstances. As an unmarried young man, Fahri's life is intersected with many women -Aisha, Maria, Nurul and Noura- who are in love with him. After a tortuous love affair, Fahri marries Aisha, and then Maria who becomes a convert before she dies of her illness. This novel tells about a romance intertwined with *da'wah*. In general, the author wants to illustrate how teenage love is channeled according to religious guidance. *Ayat-Ayat Cinta 2* continues upon the previous story. Fahri, who has completed his study at the University of Freiburg, Germany, earns a position at Edinburgh University, Scotland. Living in Europe, Fahri lives with people from different countries with different religious, social and professional backgrounds. Due to living in Europe, he often faces discrimination as a Muslim, especially after the bombing incident allegedly orchestrated by a certain Islamic group. "Islam is the religion of the devil and terrorists" is depicted as Western people's opinion about Islam. One interesting setting in this story is his involvement in the debate at Oxford Union with Prof. Mona Bravmann from the University of Chicago and

Professor Alex Horten from King's College London. Bravmann, who was born as an Egyptian Muslim, married to a Jew and lived in a Christian society, argues that all religions are equal because they come from the same source. Meanwhile, Horten argues that the current humanitarian conflict is motivated by religion; thus he dreams of a world without religion so that humanitarian conflicts can be reduced. It was here that Fahri took the role of "correcting" both the above opinions: religious diversity and spirituality were facts, and atheism-communism had in fact victimised many people (Shirazy 2015, 557-85).

Popular Islamism is very subtle in penetrating its Islamist ideology, which is why it is very popular among the Muslim millennials. The literature offers illustrations and imagination of a good role model for a Muslim who can be pious and modern at the same time.

Popular Actors who Produce Islamic Discourse and Their Sources of Legitimacy

Democratisation in Indonesia has facilitated not only the emergence of creative authors on Islamic topics but also a market for Islamist's works. These authors rise by exploiting new trends, opportunities, and information technology popular recently among the Indonesian Muslim society. They grew up with the nuance of popular public piety and the emergence of massive Islamism. Due to their awareness on the changing times and the emergence of communities of new readers, the authors present Islamic topics in more modern and contemporary forms. Unlike conventional religious authors, these Muslim authors use new illustrations and styles that are more communicative, less hierarchic, motivating and inspiring. These authors are the new actors in Islamic glorification and the producers of Islamic discourses that are unified by their similar frame of thought that "Islam is the only solution." Politically speaking, they are actors and sympathisers of political Islam, both explicitly and implicitly.

In general, popular Islamism authors do not have strong intellectual connection with traditional Islamic scholars. Their success in the Islamic discourse market is mostly due to their proficiency in transforming religious teachings into today's popular languages - differentiating themselves from classical religious texts in the process. They delivered religious contents by communicating their personal strength and aligning it with audience psychology. They branded themselves in many ways: mosque activists (such as Salim A. Fillah), Middle-East alumni (such as Habiburrahman El Shirazy), and philanthropists (such as Felix Y. Siauw). Unlike conventional Islamic scholars, popular Islamism authors build their reputation by making special relations with their readers using languages that are more communicative, less patronizing, and motivating.

To their opponents, Islamist authors are often labelled as radical, puritan or conservative authors. To their readers, these authors could possibly be seen as role models, inspiring and cool figures to look up to. While it is true that Islamist authors' arguments can be easily debunked by Islamic intellectuals or scholars, it should be noted that their main goal is not to convince religious scholars. They understand that their role is to consolidate their influence among their readers, and potentially reach out to new readers – preferably from millennials. They are aware that Muslim community's religiosity has undergone social, economic and political transformation. The youth are faced with the reality that the moral standard and religiosity model followed by their parents have been eroded by urban and modern cultures. They are experiencing what is known as "destabilisation of religious identity" (Fealy, 2008: 28; Turner, 2008: 35) and thus became curious to seek new sources of morality in the "market of Islamic discourse." In this context, popular Islamist authors are responding to the need of millennial generation to consume 'transcendental' religious teaching in popular language, so that they can manifest their much needed religious imagination and sensation. Something that is transcendental

might not be easy to consume, since it cannot show itself; it needs to be formulated and visualised through processes of mediation and visualisation (Meyer, 2006: 14).

Actors who produce Jihadi discourse are generally from abroad. In terms of their religious perspectives, they are affiliated to an Islamist group with an absolute and purist religious understanding. In addition, they are also associated with the Jihadi movement. Abdullah Azzam is a jihadist thinker who became an important authority for the modern Jihadist movement. Born in Palestine in 1941, Azzam joined the Muslim Brotherhood in 1969. He earned a doctorate in Islamic law from the University of al-Azhar in 1973; this became the basis for Azzam to claim religious authority. He had been teaching for a while at King Abdul Aziz University in Jeddah, before moving to Pakistan and teaching at Islamabad International Islamic University. His presence in Pakistan gave him access to Afghan Jihadi activists and leaders, especially Osama bin Laden. Azzam sees Afghanistan as the ideal land for jihad – to prepare mental and military strength before the actual jihad in Palestine (Maliach, 2008: 354).

"Hijrah" is an important Islamist concept that explains why the discourse of Islamism is so popular among urban societies who feel thirsty for spirituality. Among the producers of Islamist discourse, some build their reputation from their own experience of "hijrah." Felix Y. Siauw, for example, was born to an ethnic Chinese-Indonesian Catholic family in Palembang on January 31, 1984. He was converted in 2002 through his friends of HTI activists at the Bogor Agricultural Institute (IPB). Felix Siauw later emerged as a prolific writer, preacher and social media activist, motivator, political activist, orator and entrepreneur, a tremendous leap in the eyes of his followers. Even after the dissolution of HTI in 2017, Felix is still growing in popularity; especially since online and offline dakwah activities are becoming more popular among many young people. His followers on social media participated in distributing and discussing Felix's

lectures, thus making Felix one of the most popular speakers in Indonesian social media.[11] The majority of Felix's books are ideologically based, such as *Beyond the Inspiration*, *Muhammad al-Fatih 1453*, and *the Art of Da'wah*. These books emphasise the centrality of the caliphate as Islamic teaching. Other books that he wrote like *Udah Putusin Aja!* and *Yuk, Berhijab!* does not contain any ideological content although rampant with conservative moral interpretations.

Mosque-based activism is one of the most explosive phenomena among urban youth. The image of the city as a 'secular' region changes with the emergence of mosque-based activism by young people. Among Islamist authors, there are some who emerge and build their reputation on mosque-based activism. Salim A. Fillah, for example, is a Tarbawi author who is also a Jogokaryan Yogyakarta mosque administrator, and occasionally manages a communal gathering in the mosque. He became famous as an author of Islamic books after publishing *Nikmatnya Pacaran Setelah Pernikahan* (2003) which was launched at the Gedhe Kauman Mosque of Yogyakarta, which was attended by thousands of people. He is one of the speakers who often give talk shows at Islamic Book Fair events. In contrast to Felix, A. Fillah wrote more morality-related books. Nevertheless, his Tarbawi's revivalist ideological content can be traced in *Jalan Cinta Para Pejuang* and *Saksikan bahwa Aku Seorang Muslim*, where he praises Tarbiyah and Muslim Brotherhood activists, as well as their doctrine of struggle.

Not all Islamic writers build their reputation outside of the intellectual traditions of Islamic scholars. Habiburrahman El Shirazy, or popularly known by his moniker Kang Abik, is probably one of the few Indonesian Islamist writers with an Islamic education background. He grew up in an NU family and pesantren environment before continuing his education at al-Azhar University in Cairo and graduated from the Ushuluddin

11 Regarding Felix Siauw after the dissolution of HTI, see http://www.newmandala.org/piety-politics-popularity-felix-siauw/ accessed on February 5th 2018.

(Philosophy) Faculty in 1999. During his time in Egypt, in addition to establishing communication with the NU community, he was also known to be close to his Tarbiyah activist colleagues. He honed his writing talent by joining Forum Lingkar Pena (FLP), and founded FLP's branch in Cairo in 2001. FLP is the largest Indonesian Muslim author's forum with branches in Indonesia and abroad. The forum targets Muslim readers and has a network of Islamic publishers. Like other FLP branches, FLP Cairo has many members of Tarbiyah activists and many produce books with strong religious moral content (Arnez and Nisa, 2016; Kailani, 2009). After returning to Indonesia, Kang Abik started working on serious religious novels. Some of them were adapted to popular movies that made him even more popular.

The success of Islamist religious discourse cannot be separated from the support of Islamic publishers flourishing in the *Reformasi* era. The flourishing of Islamic publishers in this era needs to be understood as a response to the increasing demand for varied Islamic literatures that offer new moral standards and articulate fresh religious values. These publishers publish many translated books from Arabic, but also publish the work of local authors who began to appear in recent times. Islamist publishers generally associate their publishing activities with missionary agendas, especially publishers of ideological books who have calculated their consumers, assisted by networks of Islamism activists. While it is true that there are also publishers whose main orientation is profit, such as Gramedia, the fact that Islamist publishers are able to survive and even grow shows that they can profit as well from the publishing activity.

Judging from the types of published books and their religious affiliations, Islamist publishers in Indonesia can be grouped into five categories: Jihadi publishers, Tahriri, Salafi, Tarbawi and popular Islamism. Jihadi literature appears and persists in circulation as it is supported by a publishing network that accommodates many authors, translators, distributors, and bookstores.

The majority of Jihadi publishers are based in Solo: al-Alaq publishers, Arafah Group, al-Qawam Group, Aqwam, and Jazera. The publishing company is mostly managed by alumni of al-Mukmin Ngruki pesantren, a Salafi pesantren whose alumni is active in disseminating and reproducing Salafi discourse. Other Jihadi publishers are located in Klaten (Kafayeh Cipta Media) and Jakarta (ar-Rahmah, ICG 2008). Meanwhile, Tahriri publishers are engaged in the production of Tahriri Islamic discourse and establish relationships in certain levels with HTI activists. Tahriri publishers are concentrated in western Java, especially Bogor and Jakarta, such as Qisthi Press (Jakarta), al-Fatih Press (Jakarta), HTI Press (Jakarta), Thariqul Izzah Library (Bogor), Wadi Press (Bogor), and D 'Rise (Sukabumi).

Salafi publishers are widely engaged in the publication of faith-oriented books, the procedures for prayer, ethics, and parenting nabawi. In general, Salafi publishers emphasise on books with puritanical Islamic propagation contents in accordance with the Qur'an and sunnah, absolute interpretation of religious texts, and affirming its identity as the bearer of *salaf ahlu sunnah wa al-jamaah* ideas. Salafi publishers generally exist in large cities with a weak traditionalist base. Among the productive Salafi publishers are al-Qamar Media (Yogyakarta), Pustaka Ibnu Umar (Bogor), At-Taqwa Library (Bogor), Darul Haq (Jakarta) Pustaka Imam Adz-Dzahabi (Bekasi), Pustaka Imam asy-Syafi'i (Bekasi), Risalah Ilmu (Cibubur), Assalam (Surakarta), Zamzam (Surakarta), al-Qalam (Surakarta), Aqwam (Surakarta), and Jazera (Surakarta). Some of the above Salafi publishers also publish Jihadi literature because Salafi's discourse of puritanism and absolutism are largely used as the foundation of jihadi discourse as a means of practicing the theories provided by Salafi literature. Jazera publishers, for example, publish many books of Salafi jihadists such as *Tarbiyah Jihadiyah* by Abdullah Azzam, *Aku Melawan Teroris* by Imam Samudera, *Balada Jamaah Jihad* by Dr. Hani Asibai, Ayat-Ayat Pedang by Lila TM, *Melawan Penguasa* by Abu Basyir Abdul Mun'in Musthafa Halimah, and *Visi Politik*

Gerakan Jihad by Hazim al-Madani (see ICG 2008).

Tarbawi publishers are affiliated to a certain level with the Jamaah Tarbiyah network. These publishers publish many Islamic books written by Tarbiyah figures and activists, although they also publish books written by authors outside of their circles as long as the content is considered to be aligned with the agenda of Islamism in general. Among the publishers of this category are Rabbani publishers (Jakarta), Gema Insani Press (Yogyakarta), Pro-U Media (Yogyakarta), Media Insani Publishing (Surakarta), and Era Adicita (Solo). Tarbawi publishers are among the fast-growing publishers. In addition to being sustained by a growing network of readers, the development of Tarbawi publishers is also influenced by the active role of Tarbawi authors – like Salim A. Fillah – in promoting their books in book-event events as well as religious lectures.

In addition, there are also publishers that produce literatures across ideologies. These publishers generally publish literatures of popular types of Islamism, which includes motivation, public piety, or general Islam. Publishers who are included in this category are Mizan (Bandung), Mizania (Bandung), Qanita (Bandung), Republika (Jakarta), Asma Nadia Publishing House (Depok), and Gramedia (Jakarta). In general, these are big-name publishers because they have a large market share from various segments of society. Of course not all books published by the publishers above have similar contents; still, some publishers can occasionally express their ideological affiliation at certain level. Mizan publishers, for example, are mostly publishing books on Islam and civilisation, which is a rough representation of their ideology. Meanwhile, Republika publishers publish more Islamic literatures oriented towards the development of piety and 'soft' Islamism.

Conclusions

Islamism is a global trend that appears alongside the phenomenon of religious de-privatisation, which emerges to answer the problem of secularisation that

does not provide an adequate public role for religion. In the Islamic world, Islamism arises when the secularisation adopted by the government in status quo is unable to address the structural, social, and economic problems. Islamism emerges by offering answers to social, political, economic, and moral crises. One of the strategies to popularise and disseminate Islamist discourse is through literature. Realizing that it is not easy to change the thinking patterns and beliefs of the older generation, especially through the media literature, Islamist actors divert their attention to urban youth looking for self-identity amid structural challenges and piety demands.

The production and distribution of Islamist discourse were facilitated by democratisation in post-1998 Indonesia that revitalised the Islamic public. Islamism discourse has taken advantage of the momentum resulting by the transformation of contestation sphere from the state to the people. Islamist actors build the logic Islamic public by pointing the failure of "secular" ideologies within the Islamic world, and building an argument that Islam is the only solution. The popularity of Islamist literature among urban youth can be explained as the success of Islamist actors in propagating the symbols and doctrines of Islamism. The doctrine of "hijrah" is an important step for Islamists to manipulate public logic into believing that Muslims should move to a more "complete" teaching. To that end, they are also aware of the necessity of establishing religious legitimacy in harmony with Islamic public logic and the doctrine of hijrah.

Other than the above context, discourse production is widely supported by infrastructure readiness involving publishers, distributors, bookstores, and readers. The readers of Islamic literatures are certainly not monolithic; they are diverse and tiered. This explains the variants of Islamism literature circulating among young people in particular. These variants occur not only through the development of the core ideology, but also the appropriation of local contexts and regional public logic of Islam, which is the arena of the circulation of those Islamic literatures.

CHAPTER 4

The Circulation and Transmission of Islamic Literatures: Availability, Accessibility, and Distribution

Moch. Nur Ichwan

The monetary crisis that was followed by the fall of the New Order regime created an uncertain period for the fate of book publishing industry, including Islamic books. Many people went pessimistic due to the escalating prices of books following the rising price of paper. Fortunately, that concern did not materialise. Instead, we saw a flourishing number of book publishers. What people did not calculate was the emergence of non-mainstream Islamic movements that uphold a diverse range of ideologies, whether in local or transnational level. The Tarbiyah movement that flourished during the 1990s was transformed into the Justice Party – then the Prosperous Justice Party – and Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia (KAMMI). The transnational Islamic movement of Hizbut Tahrir also made their declaration. Several national Islamic movements also emerged, such as Majlis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), Front Pembela

Islam (FPI), and local movements such as Forum Pemuda Islam Surakarta (FPIS). Salafi movement also became prominent.

Previously, Salafi ideas were circulated and funded locally in Indonesia by people who studied Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab's books. To date, many people have gone to Saudi Arabia and developed Salafism with the help of Saudi's funds. Liberal and Progressive Islamic groups emerged, mainly represented by Jaringan Islam Liberal (JIL) and Jaringan Islam Muda Muhammadiyah (JIMM). This development resulted in the emergence of a new market share for Islamic literatures, which caused new Islamic publishers to appear, both of general and Islamic books (Watson, 2015). Existing bookstores are expanding nowadays, with new bookstores popping up, including the online ones.

This chapter will discuss about how those literatures were distributed to its readers, especially young students, and the circulation and transmission processes involved in it. The term circulation refers to the physical circulation of literatures in a certain location, or from one location to another under some certain network. Meanwhile, transmission refers to how those literatures were consumed by their readers, whether mediated or non-mediated, and how their contents were delivered to from one person to another. In other words, circulation is related to the availability of literatures while transmission is related to how the literatures were accessed, consumed and disseminated by and to the readers. While transmission always entails circulation, not every circulation involves transmission. In this context, literatures are circulated due to their being accessed and consumed, not simply by being available.

Based on the above definitions, the discussion on circulation herein will be attributed to the locus of availability of the literatures, such as bookstores, book fairs, online stores, libraries, et cetera. Meanwhile, the discussion on transmission will be attributed to the acts of accessing and consuming Islamic literatures, such as book discussions, student activities

and communnal Al-Quran reading.[12]

The Locus of Circulation and Availability

Some students were not satisfied with the Islamic Religious Education (IRE) they learned in the classroom. The limited number of school hours, the delivery from teachers/lecturers that may be considered unsatisfactory or boring, and a great curiosity about Islam, encourage them to, by themselves or together with peers, find Islamic books, magazines, or bulletins, or participate in activities, organisations or movements they deem capable of providing Islamic knowledge to them. This great curiosity sometimes drives them to read anything about Islam, or follow any activities, organisations and movements they want. However, many also read literature or follow activities, organisations, or movements due to being told or invited by friends, teachers, lecturers, scholars, or murabbi without realizing, or being ignorant to, the ideology behind the literatures, activities, organisations, or movements.

There are several loci of circulation and availability for Islamic literatures in Indonesia, such as bookstores, book fairs, libraries, and online media.

1. Bookstores: Offline and Online

Bookstores are a very important locus for the distribution and circulation of Islamic literatures in many parts of Indonesia. The academic dynamics and Islamic discourse in a region almost always occur alongside the appearance of a book store that provides Islamic literatures (books, magazines, and bulletins) or accessible online bookstores. In general, the bookstores, both offline and online, can be classified into: a) general

12 Data on Islamic literatures in this chapter are taken from these reports: Fauzan 2017 (Palu); Hasan 2017 (Solo); Ichwan 2017 (Denpasar); Ikhwan 2017 (Jember); Kailani 2017 (Pekanbaru); Nurlaelawati 2017 (Padang); Noor 2017 (Ambon); Rafiq 2017 (Banjarmasin); Suhadi 2017 (Bandung); Ro'fah 2017 (Mataram); Sunarwoto 2017 (Pontianak); Ulinnuha 2017 (Bogor); Yunus 2017 (Medan), unless specifically stated otherwise.

bookstores that sell Islamic literatures among the larger general books; b) general Islamic bookstores that provides ideological Islamic books from Islamist to liberal-progressive; c) Islamist bookstores that provide Islamic books that selectively provide the ideological literatures of Islamism whilst avoiding liberal, secular, and perverted ones. Mainstream Islamic literatures may be sold there as long as they do not conflict with the Islamist ideology. The latest categories may be divided into two types: 1) trans-Islamist bookstores that provide Islamist books of several movements (either Salafi, Tarbawi, Tahriri, or other Islamism; 2) segmented Islamist bookstores that selectively provide only certain Islamist books, such as Tahriri or Tarbawi alone. Those bookstores are sometimes pure bookstores and other times shops that sell anything related to Islam – or known as a *one stop Islamic shopping stores* - which not only sell books but also other products such as educational and office supplies, Islamic clothing, and other "Islamic" trinkets.

a. Offline Bookstores

Most of the offline bookstores can be categorised as general bookstores. There are some of national level such as Gramedia bookstores, of trans-local level like Togamas, and mostly, of local level. Gramedia operates in more than 50 big cities in Indonesia, from Banda Aceh to Jayapura; there are even some branches in Singapore and Malaysia. Although mainly selling books, Gramedia also sells office supplies, musical instruments, and sport gears. Although it is owned by non-Muslim shareholders, its stores and networks are also selling Islamic books from many ideologies, although only the non-controversial ones. However, it does not seem to be concerned with the ideologies of the books sold. The only thing that matters for Gramedia in selling Islamic books is whether the books can be sold in a large number and if it is not controversial. For example, Jihadi and HTI core books are not available in Gramedia, while Salafi and Tarbawi

core books are. The same is also true in the case of Felix Siauw's books. His popular Islamism books, such as *Udah, Putusin aja!* and *Yuk, Berhijab* are available whereas his other works published by Khilafah Press are not.

In case of Togamas, this research observed their stores that operate in 17 cities on Java Island and 2 on Bali. Its characteristic is similar to Gramedia, including the availability of office supplies and cafés (only in some cities). Just like Gramedia, Togamas also sells Islamic books from many ideologies, including Salafi and Tarbawi books and popular Islamism books. It also sells HTI Books that have been appropriated by Felix Siauw, both the popular and the serious ones, such as *Caliphate Remake* and *Beyond the Inspiration*. Meanwhile, Jihadi literatures, such as *Tarbiyah Jihadiyah*, were not found. Gramedia bookstores can also be found in some research locations, such as Medan, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Solo, Banjarmasin, Denpasar, Palu, and Mataram.

General local bookstores were found in big or small cities, such as TB Zanafa in Pekanbaru, Social Agency in Yogyakarta, TB Albaba and TB Usaha Jaya in Banjarmasin. Other than selling general literatures, these bookstores also sell Islamic literatures from many ideologies. TB Zanafa provides book of many genres, from school textbooks to popular Islamic and ideological Islamic literatures. In the main bookshelves of this store, books by Felix Siauw, Tere Liye, Habiburrahman El-Shiraezy and others were displayed with a "best seller" tag, along with popular Islamic motivation books for youth. On the second floor, there is a special section of Islamic books, including the "dull-looking" ideological books of Tarbawi, Salafi and Tahriri, indicating that these books are not selling. TB Albaba sells school textbooks and general books and also Arabic books for pesantren and Al-Quran reading of the NU-oriented religious activities, and popular Islamist literatures, such as Felix Siauw's works, and tarbawi literatures. TB Usaha Jaya provides general Islamic books as well as displaying a special counter for Salafi literatures, published by Pustaka Imam Syafi'i Jakarta. The interesting

thing is that the Ramedia bookstore, although belonging to Christians, has the most complete Islamic books collection compared to any other bookstores in the area. Literatures of Mainstream, Salafi, Tarbawi, Tahriri, and popular Islamism types are also available. Many muslim students, even Rohis and LDK activists, claimed to have bought their Islamic books in this store. It seems that availability is the main reason they buy books in that store. In fact, in case of Ramedia, buyers do not consider the religion of bookstore owners. They are not even questioning the fact that Ramedia provides a shelf containing the New Testament that may be taken free of charge, which may, elsewhere, be regarded as part of proselytisation.

Public Islamic shops are common in suburban areas. In addition to selling Islamic books cross-ideology, these shops also sell Islamic dresses and trinkets under the concept of one-stop Islamic shopping. In Medan's "Muslim Shop" that uses one stop Islamic shopping concept, many students are buying Islamic books from various ideologies, from such progressivesas Fazlur Rahman's books, to the books of Salafi, Tarbiyah, and Tahriri. These Islamist books seem to dominate the shelves of books, even placed in strategic places easily visible to potential buyers.

TB Al-Amin Bogor, in addition to providing mainstream Islamic books, such as the famous *Terjemah Fathul Qarib*, also provides Abdullah Azzam's Jihadist book, *Tarbiyyah Jihadiyyah*, and books published by HASMI (Harakah Sunniyah For Islamic Society), such as *Kebangkitan Sejati*, *Urgensi Da'wah Kemurnian* dan *Menuju Masyarakat Islami*. HASMI's book that criticises other Salafi groups, *Membongkar Kedok Salafiyyun*, does not appear to be sold in this store. HASMI is an Islamist movement that claims to be "born in Indonesia," but some call it a Salafi Sururi movement. Around UIN Bandung, there are two general Islamic bookstores, IBC and Iqra. Both sell general Islamic books required by UIN students. No Tarbawi and Salafi books were found, however. This reflects the moderate nature of UIN Bandung students.

Islamist bookstores, which include pan-Islamist or segmented bookstores, are much fewer in number. In Bandung, three pan-Islamist bookstores are found. *First* is LPES Istek Salman store, located within Salman Mosque of ITB's premise – it uses one stop Islamic shopping concept. (LPES is short for Sharia Economic Development Institute of Salman ITB.) The store sells Tarbawi and Salafi books, magazines, and tabloids. Not far away, there is TB Tazkia that sells Tarbawi, Salafi, and Tahriri books. Not far from the mosque of Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia (UPI), there is TB Mas Azzy Agency that sells Tarbawi and Salafi books. TB al-Bayan in Banjarmasin, which uses one stop Islamic shopping concept, also sells Salafi and Tarbawi books as well as selling Muslim clothing and other Islamic trinkets. In Mataram, TB Titian Hidayah, located in Lawata area, one of the Salafi movement nodes, sells Islamist books of Tarbawi, Tahriri, and Salafi ideologies.

The segmented Islamist bookstores are even fewer in number. People who visit these stores are usually members or sympathisers of the movement. In Pekanbaru, there are two Salafi-segmented Islamist bookstores: Pustaka Ilmu and Cahaya Sunnah. Pustaka Ilmu is small but is crowded with visitors. Many books are published by Pustaka Imam Syafii, which is a Salafi publisher. Cahaya Sunnah not only sells Salafi books but also worshipping clothes and equipment. In Bandung, TB Rabiah Islam, not far from UPI and just beside Darut Tauhid pesantren, sells special Salafi books.

In Banjarmasin, the Tahriri-segmented Islamist bookstore is TB Al-Azhar. It specifically provides HTI books by Shaykh Taqiyuddin al-Nabhani and other Tahriri figures. There are also *Koran Media Umat*, *al-Wa'ie* magazine, and *Kaffah* Bulletin. TB al-Bayan and Al-Azhar are located in UNISKA and ULM premises, which make them the go-to store for students in the two universities to obtain Islamic literatures.

In Palu, the Salafi movement also has a segmented bookstore called Al-Ghuroba located near Al-Amanah Mosque on Jl. Ki Hajar Dewantara

and Rumah Syar'i on Jl. Yos Sudarso. The two also apply one stop Islamic shopping concept by selling herbal medicines, Muslim clothing and Salafi-oriented books. Also in Palu, Jamaat Tabligh, a piety movement from Indo-Pakistan, has a segmented bookstore called Tablighi on Jl. Mangga, which is located near its headquarters in Al-Awwabin mosque.

Some cities also have Islamic bookstores that sell and even print books made by local scholars. Tafaqquh bookstore in Pekanbaru, for example, prints and distributes works made by Abdul Shomad and Musthafa Umar (prominent figures in Majelis Intelektual dan Ulama Muda Indonesia/MIUMI), as well as selling the preaching videos by the two scholars. In Banjarmasin, TB Murni specifically prints and sells Arabic books written by local scholars in Banjarmasin or South Kalimantan, such as books made by TG Ibrahim Zuhri Mahfuz, TG Abdurrasyid Amuntai, TG Abdurrahman Sungai Bandar and TG Syukri Unus Martapura. In Palu, there is a bookstore that sells local scholar's books, such as Alkhairaat that is located on the same street with the headquarters of Pengurus Besar Alkhairaat. Dunia Ilmu bookstore, which is located in Ampenan, Mataram, also prints and sells Nahdlatul Wathan (NW)'s books although they recently sell other Islamic books as well.

There are interesting things related to the relationship between the religious ideologies of the shopowners and the choices of books sold. In case of segmented Islamist bookshops, there is usually a linearity between the two, but not with pan-Islamist bookstores, general Islamic bookstores, and much less the general bookstores. In Padang, for example, TB. Sari Anggrek is owned by a lawyer who is active in the implementation of Islamic Sharia. However, his store provides books of diverse ideologies, from progressive Islamic books, such as Gus Dur's books and books about Gus Dur, to Islamists, such as Salafi and Tarbawi literature, as well as Islamic novels.

As for TB. Al Fahmu, which is owned by a PKS leader, it does provide

Tarbawi books but also provides more "serious" Islamist religious books, and not many Islamic novels. TB. Murni, owned by NU Scholar TG Ibrahim Zuhri Mahfuz, prints and sells Arabic books composed by local scholars of Banjarmasin or South Kalimantan, such as TG Ibrahim Zuhri Mahfuz, TG Abdurrasyid Amuntai, TG Abdurrahman Banar River, and TG Syukri Unus Martapura.

TB Usaha Jaya is owned by wealthy NU merchants but has a special Salafi counter from Pustaka Imam Syafii. In Ambon, Toko Madani, a store with one stop Islamic shopping concept, which is owned by a former member of parliament from PKS, not only sells Tarbawi books, but also sells other Islamist books. Meanwhile, although Gramedia and Ramedia (Palu) belong to Christian owners, their Islamic books are quite complete. It means that the shop owner's ideology is not always reflected in the books that they sell.

b. Online Bookstores

Online bookstores are new media in book shopping. The process is easy and people do not need to come to physical stores or outlets, which can be very far away, such as between Jakarta and Medan or Mataram. Buyers just click on the book they want and pay either by credit card or bank transfer and the book will be delivered within the agreed time. However, this study finds that online bookstores have not been used by students to get Islamic books, although most of them are familiar with social media and know that there are book stalls on the internet.

Online bookstores are generally divided into two types, namely online bookstores that also have an offline bookstore and bookstores that only operate online. Most major book publishers and big bookstores have online bookstores. Gramedia, in addition to being a publisher, is also an offline and online bookstore. Mizan, which is a publisher of Islamic books, also has it. The same is true for Togamas, a trans-local bookstore, and for TB Al

Amin Bogor, a local Islamic book store. Many bookstores and outlets only sell online, such as book-islam.com. Their number will be astronomical if we include user-stalls on Facebook, Kaskus, Tokopedia, and Bukalapak.

In general, as mentioned at the beginning of this sub-chapter, there is a typological similarity between online bookstores and offline bookstores. First, there are general online bookstores, such as Gramedia and Togamas, which sell Islamic literatures among the general books they sell. Second, there are general Islamic online bookstores, such as Mizan (www.mizancore.com), which provides Islamic books of various ideologies, from Islamist to liberal-progressive (although Mizan does not provide pure Islamist/core books, except some of its appropriations), and TB. Al Amin Bogor (www.tokobukualamin.com). Third, there are online Islamic bookstores that provide Islamic ideological literatures, either: 1) pan-Islamist online bookstores of several movements (either Salafi, Tarbawi, Tahriri or other Islamisms, such as Gema Insani Press (GIP/gemainsani.co.id) - although it is actually a Tarbiyah publisher, buku-islam.com; Toko Buku Muslim (www.tokobukumuslim.com), and; Rumah Buku Assalaam (although its offline bookshop is in the general Islamic category); 2) segmented online Islamic bookstores, such as Pusatbukusunnah.com in Kudus Central Java, Sunnah Agency Book (www.bukusunnahagency.com) based in Klaten, and Griya Buku Muslim (toko-bukumuslim.com) based in Bantul, Yogyakarta.

Certain authors sell their books online, such as *Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran* by Laode Munafar, former coordinator of Badan Koordinasi Lembaga Dakwah Kampus (BKLDK), which is affiliated with HTI, in addition to selling it to an individual network of Islamist activists. The title of this book also becomes a name, as well as a reference, for a movement among Muslim students active in Rohis and LDK. A number of mainstream and progressive Muslim authors, such as Ahmad Baso and Mun'im Sirry, also sell their books online.

2. Libraries

In addition to bookstores, libraries also constitutes a locus of circulation and availability of Islamic literatures. Libraries reflect the availability of literatures although not necessarily their accessibility. This study shows that not many students are using library literatures as references to enrich their knowledge or to work on school tasks. Online libraries that can be fully analysed for their content have not been so well developed, except those already uploaded to Google Books (books.google.com). Therefore, this chapter will be focused on offline libraries (hereinafter referred to as "libraries") only.

We map Islamic literatures into three typologies. First, public libraries in which there is a collection of books about Islam. Public libraries include, among other things, national, regional, college and school libraries in which there are collections of Islamic books in addition to general literature collections. Most college and public libraries, and some religious-based libraries, are in this category, as they usually contain literatures supporting school courses. Their Islamic literatures usually consists of textbooks, textbook adds-on, and/or books written academically.

Secondly, general Islamic libraries, most of which consist of Islamic book collections of various ideologies, dominated by both mainstream Islam and Islamist Islam. In general, most madrasah and Islamic school libraries are not included in this category. The same is also true for libraries of Islamic foundations, mosques and moderate mushalla or libraries managed by people of various ideologies. One example is the library of Salman Mosque of ITB Bandung, which provides Islamic books in general and also has an adequate collection of Tarbawi and also Salafi literatures. The collection of Islamic movement literature has been pioneered since the 1970s under the influence of Imaduddin Abdurrahim, a leader of a campus-based da'wah movement affiliated to HMI (Djamas, 1989; Rosyad, 2006; Effendy, 2011). At that time Tarbiyah Movement were not flourishing, but Sayyid Qutb

and Hasan al-Banna's books had become popular reading, alongside books written by Shari'ati who was a Shia. It was then followed by the role of DDII and Tarbiyah movement that dominates the activities of the Salman Mosque. Notably, Tahriri literatures are not found in libraries, while Salafi books are. Unlike its library, Salman Reading Corner displays various books, including books written by ITB Islamic figures such as Imaduddin Abdurrahim, Armahedi Mahzar, KH. Moftah Faridh, and Agus Purwanto and even works by Tere Liye and Ahmad Fuadi.[13]

In case of Manarul Ilmi Mosque Library of ITS, despite providing general Islamic literature, it also provides a large collection of Tarbawi, Tahriri, and Salafi-oriented Islamist literatures. Also found are academic books for Islamic studies such as the translated works of John Esposito, Martin van Bruinessen, and Bernard Lewis books; moderate Islamic books, such as Hamka and Muhammad Asad's works; the PWNU magazines published in East Java, and; progressive books such as the works of Muhammad Iqbal, Azyumardi Azra, and Abdul Munir Mulkhan. However, Islamist books seem more dominant. They include Tarbawi books by Sayid Qutb, Hasan al-Banna, Yusuf Qaradawi, Ali Abdul Halim Mahmud, and mentoring guide books; Tahriri books, including Taqiyuddin al-Nabhani and Abdul Qadim Zallum books; and Salafi books, including Ibn Taimiyah and Ibn Qayyim Jauziyah books, as well as the other books edited or endorsed by Salafi scholars. Hidayatullah magazines (affiliated to Salafi) and Sabili (Tarbawi) can also be found. Visiting schedule is differentiated for each gender; male visitors can visit on Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday while females can visit on Monday and Thursday. This reflects the teaching of ikhtilath (regarding men and women in one place), which is highly emphasised in Islamist movements.

Meanwhile, the library in al-Hikmah Mosque of Jember State University (Unej), which is managed by LDK, has a huge collection of books ranging

13 Http://kabar.salmanitb.com/2014/11/21/ini-10-buku-favorit-di-perpustakaan-salman/

from translations, hadiths and other Islamist books, but its Tarbiyah collection is also quite large. The LDK is also active in producing Tarbawi Islamist religious discourse by publishing its newsletter, *Shoutul Hikmah*. Their Salafi collection is quite large. Books published by the Salafi Publishers, Al-Qowam and Aqwam in Kartasura, can be found there. They also have a Facebook fanpage (only active from February 19th, 2013 to December 29th, 2015), which is filled with information on new Salafi book collections, minus one work from Salim A. Fillah's, *Dalam Dekapan Dakwah*.

Third, Islamist libraries; they include pan-Islamist and segmented Islamist libraries. Pan-Islamist libraries are usually integrated with institutions, foundations, mosques and mushallas that are oriented or managed by activists or movements from more than one Islamist ideology, resulting in compromise. Rohis and LDK whose activists consist of more than one Islamist movement will usually prefer pan-Islamist libraries as they represent the differences of its activists.

Segmented Islamist libraries are usually owned or dominated by certain Islamic movements although some of these libraries do maintain a small collection of non-Salafi collections. They usually have strict control over the book contents. A number of libraries owned by salafi-based school in Solo Raya have libraries with a large Salafi collection, mostly due to Saudi's donation.[14] When CISForm UIN Sunan Kalijaga donated their books, some of the books were accepted after first being curated for what was considered appropriate, some were rejected (usually would then be stored in the teacher's room), and some books were even returned. The Library of STDI Imam Syafi'i Jember is included in the Salafi segmented Islamist category. Most of its books are the work of Salafi scholars, from Ibn Taimiyah and Ibn Qayyim to Bin Baz and Nashiruddin al-Albani. Some Rohis and LDK libraries can be categorised in this type. If it is controlled by a Tarbiyah movement, its collection will mostly be Tarbiyah

14 Based on the writer's visits in December 2011.

literatures, and if it is dominated by HTI, then its collection will mostly be Tahriri literatures. Inasmuch as they are not facilitated by the university, LDK activists in Udayana University use Mushalla Umar bin Khattab in Jimbaran as their centreof activities, at least for their management. The Mushalla has a Salafi-segmented library and hosts Salafi studies at certain times. Some LDK members, especially those living in the LDK secretariat located just outside the mosque, often access the library or study there.

While libraries reflect the availability of literatures, they do not necessarily reflect their accessibility. Looking from the list of borrowers, Tahriri books at the Manarul Ilmi Mosque library were read by many before 2010—by at least for 20 times. Since 2010, however, they books have never been borrowed. Likewise, the library at mushalla Umar Bin Khattab Jimbaran is not being accessed by every LDK Unud's member.

3. Book Fairs

A book fair is an important medium to circulate Islamic literatures. Several Rohis and LDK collaborate with publishers or bookstores in certain events to organise small and limited book fairs. IKAPI usually has an annual book fair in big cities, which is participated by both general and religious publishers, including by Islamic publishers.

A systematic attempt to organise Islamic book fair has been made since 2002 under the name of Islamic Book Fair (IBF). This event was pioneered by several Islamic book publishers incorporated in Pokja Buku Islam IKAPI DKI Jakarta.[15] As time goes by, IBF has also been held in big cities outside of Java. In Yogyakarta, IBF was first held in 2004 while in Denpasar, the 1st Bali Islamic Book Fair was held in 2014.

Each of these cities appears to have its own dynamics. In Jakarta, Mizan remains an important part of IBF, while in Yogyakarta publishers who are often considered an obstacle to Islamist movements--such as LKiS—were

15 Http://islamic-bookfair.com/page/detail/ibf-dari-masa-ke-masa.

never invited[16] although LKiS usually managed to sneak its books (mostly the moderate ones) into existing stalls. Outside of Jakarta, it appears that IBF is totally controlled by Islamist groups. This can be seen from the books being launched or discussed, and the figures that got invited. In IBF Malang 2014, for example, the invitees were Helvy Tiana Rosa and Cahyadi Takriawan who are affiliated with Tarbiyah movement, Habib Ahmad al-Hamid (First Leader of Central FPI), and K.H. Abdul Wahid Ghazali (Gus Wahid, head of As-Salam pesantren in Malang) who used to be affiliated with NU but has since "found salvation" after meeting with the Ghoib Ruqyah Syar'iyyah team, and who is currently preaching about the union between NU and Salafi.[17] In Yogyakarta, IBF is divided into two, but all of them are under the Islamist's control. Jogja Islamic Book Fair 2017 was held on December 31st 2017 to January 6th 2018 in UNY's sport arena, inviting Fauzil Azim, Cahyadi Takariawan, Salim A. Fillah, Jazir ASP, all of whom, except the last mentioned, are affiliated with Tarbiyah.

At least, the three loci above provide Islamic literatures that can be accessed by Muslim Youth. Although alternative methods of access, certainly, do exist such as by borrowing books from friends, their existence is important in the circulation and transmission of Islamic literature. Islamic teachers, scholars, clerics and murabbi often give recommendations to access Islamic literatures through bookstores, libraries and book fairs.

Transmission and Accessibility

The availability of Islamic literatures in bookstores, libraries and book fairs, as explained above, does not necessarily mean that they are being largely consumed or accessed. There are several activities or forums used as a media to consume and transmit Islamic literatures, such as Islamic

16 Personal communication with Hairus Salim (Committee member of LKiS Foundation), on 18th February 2018.

17 "Kesaksian Kyai Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) yang Tobat dari Ilmu Hikmah (Kesaktian, Kanuragan, Ilmu Ghoib)," http://ruqyahmajalahghoib.blogspot.co.id/2016/02/kesaksian-kyai-nu-yang-taubat-dari-ilmu.html

Religion classes in schools, Rohis and LDK activities, student organisations inside or outside of schools, Islamic study groups, book discussions, and online access. Unlike the previous part, this part will explain how Islamic literatures are not only made available, but also being accessed, read, discussed, studied, debated, spread, and appropriated in each context.

1. IRE Classes

The transmission of Islamic literatures through Islamic education (IRE) class in high schools and universities has been observed. During classes, teachers often recommend particular books or magazines to be read or bought in certain bookstores, or pointing an Islamic study group that students can participate in.

In Padang, for example, IRE teachers are recommending these books: *Sirah Nabawiyah, Dalam Dekapan Ukhwah, Komitmen Muslim Sejati, Api Tauhid, Quantum Tarbiyah, Saksikan Aku Seorang Muslim, Fiqh Wanita, Fiqh Dakwah, Tarbiyah Dzatiyah, Hadits Arbain, Bulughul Maram,* and *Pedoman Daurah al-Al-Quran.* Most of them are Tarbawi and Salafi books. From among those books, *Hadits Arbain* and *Bulughul Maram* appear to be popular among traditional pesantren communities. However, those books were edited and reviewed by Salafi scholars who also make Salafi books.

In Saraswati High School of Denpasar, for example, IRE teachers make a *fikih* book written by Sulaiman Rasyid as a mandatory reading for students; meanwhile, al-Banna high school teachers use additional IRE references based on Tarbawi movement books and recommend students to read certain Tarbawi books.

2. Rohis and LDK Activities

Outside of the classroom, many Muslim students are active in Unit Kerohanian Islam (Rohis) and Lembaga Dakwah Kampus (LDK). Through these organisations, they are able to learn about Islam more

than they will ever get in the classroom. Rohis and LDK are respectively a unit for Islamic activities in school and college, which is structured in a systematic way (Widiyantoro 2007). These organisations are media for intense transmissions of Islamic literatures. The alumni, seniors and allies of Rohis and LDK, as well as scholars and clerics that they invite have a significant role in introducing Islamic literatures that contain Islamist ideologies.

As a unit for student's Islamic activities, Rohis and LDK first appeared officially during the last decades of the New Order and have managed to last up to the present day. The limitation set for Islamic politics and the available space for expressing piety in school and college during the New Order era has allowed campus-associated Islamic movements, especially Tarbiyah, to solidify themselves in the era of Reformation (Wajidi 2011; Kailani 2010; Salim, Kailani and Azekiyah 2011). Therefore, it makes sense that their influence within Rohis and LDK remains strong in several schools and campuses although they have been facing tough competition lately from HTI and Salafi.

Rohis and LDK activities are closely related with Tarbawi Islamic literatures. Their process of regeneration is accompanied with mastery in key Tarbiyah literatures, such as works by Sayyid Quthb, Hasan al-Banna, and literatures appropriated by senior activists based on those key literatures. The literatures are socialised during their *liqa'* and *halaqah* or widely known as *Manhaj Tugas Baca* (Mantuba). *Liqa'* or *halaqah* in Tarbiyah's regeneration system is a process involving small groups consisted of more or less ten participants each to be mentored by a *murabbi*. In this process, participants are encouraged to read at least 5 pages of Mantuba every day.

Many students are happy to learn about religion through mentoring or *liqa'* and *halaqah* method, compared to learning Islamic Education in the class or in any other Islamic study group, due the capability of the *murabbi* to better communicate with their mentees – often informally. *Liqa'*

also offers counseling sessions. The *murabbi* will deliver materials based on Tarbiyah movement's key literatures. Tarbiyah books are easily accessible among their circle, such as books by Cahyadi Takariyawan, Ikhwan Fauzi, Salim A. FIlah, Ummu Yasmin, Satria Hadi Lubis, and Ridwansyah Yusuf Ahmad. In several LDK, aside from Tarbawi literatures, Salafi books and magazines, such as *Majalah Qanitah* and *Majalah Qudwah*, as well as Tahriri books and magazines are also distributed. In such circumstances, Islamic literatures are being read to the audience that allows it to circulate among the students. However, there is also a contestation between Tarbiyah and HTI, as shown in the case of ITB.

In several regions, the name Rohis is relatively unknown although some sort of organisation with similar functions does exist. In Palu, for example, the term Rohis is replaced by RISMA (Remaja Islam Masjid/Mosque Teenagers). Every school, private and public, has a student organisation that deals with spirituality affairs. RISMA is a student organisation in school level tasked to enliven the school mosque, and authorised to organise Islamic activities within its premise. In Denpasar, Rohis and LDK are mostly unofficial communities – they do not belong in the structure of their school's student committee – except for Rohis and LDK in Islamic schools (Muhammadiyah and al-Banna high school) and in Madrasah Aliyah, as well as Islamic universities (STAID) and educational institutions led by Muslim (STIKOM). In STIKOM, their LDK is named *Moslem Community of STIKOM* (MCOS). In Unud, the LDK is called Forum Persatuan Mahasiswa Islam (FPMI), which is a merger of Rohis organisations from several faculties.

The Tarbiyah network of Rohis and LDK is huge and strong, of a national level. They have a militant quality to make their school more "Islamic." Through this network, their books have been distributed to and consumed by a wide range of people.

3. Muslim Student Organisations

In addition to Rohis and LDK, there are also several student organisations outside of schools. NU-based schools usually have IPNU-IPPNU, while Muhammadiyah schools have IPM (Ikatan Pelajar Muhammadiyah/ Muhammadiyah Student Association). Meanwhile, college students have HMI, PMII, IMM, KMNU, Kammi and Gema Pembebasan as their outlet for Islamic activities outside of school. These organisations are also important locus for Islamic literatures circulation and transmission.

They usually have their own preferred literatures used as the mandatory reading for members. HMI members usually read and discuss books written by HMI figures, such as Nurcholish Madjid and Ahmad Wahib and other HMI figures. PMII and KMNU prefer to read and discuss NU and Aswaja books as well as critical literary texts from the Middle-East, such as the works of Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd, Hassan Hanafi, 'Abid al-Jabiri – especially true in religious universities (PTKI). In IMM, the most circulating publications are books about Muhammadiyah, books written by Muhammadiyah figures, and Muhammadiyah Magazines (Suara Muhammadiyah). As for KAMMI, Tarbawi books are the most popular. Gema Pembebasan, on the other hand, prefer to discuss Tahriri books and magazines.

However, the choice of reading does not always reflect the organisation's ideology. Some KAMMI members, for example, also read Salafi or even liberal books. HMI activists that are often associated with Nurcholish Madjid and Ahmad Wahib works were also found reading Felix Siauw's books. Some of them are actually in the process of finding their identity, thus they are not too bothered with ideologies.

4. Islamic Study Groups

Book circulation in any given school, campus, or institution can be observed from the communal al-Al-Quran activities or an Islamic study

groups based in the mosque (or mushalla) and movement (or organisation) or both that operate there. Also included in this definition are *halaqah* and *liqa'*. The phenomenon of mosques being used as centres for Islamic studies in schools and universities first appeared during the 1980s and became popular in the 1990s when Suharto's government started their inclusive politics to Islam.

Most schools and universities, especially in Muslim-majority areas, have their own campus mosque. In Bali, however, most schools and universities have none. Universitas Udayana, for example, has no mosque even though the students and lecturers have insisted on having it. Nonetheless, LDK activists can still use mosques near their campus to conduct Islamic study groups.

In Medan, before its banning, HTI routinely held Islamic study groups in UINSU's campus mosque every Friday – before and after the Friday prayer. After its banning, however, such activities were no longer found. Salafi students are also active in organizing study groups in Universitas Negeri Medan (Unimed)'s mosque and Universitas Sumatera Utara (USU)'s mosque. In Unimed mosque, they routinely study *Sharh al-Sunnah* book on Saturday morning. Meanwhile, in Pekanbaru, young people routinely go to the Islamic study group in Mutmainnah Mosque, An-Nur Mosque, Raudatul Jannah Mosque, as well as study groups led by popular figures like Abdul Somad and Adi Hidayat. In addition, one of the most popular Islamic study groups participated by students are related to *Tahsin Al-Quran*, Karomah Study, Holy Book Study, and Hadiths Study.

In Surabaya Institute of Technology (ITS), a study of *Riyadhus Shalihin* book in Manurul Ilmi Mosque is routinely held during afternoon weekend. This study group is managed by a scholar from NU pesantren background, which explains why his teachings are closely related to NU teachings. However, Jamaah Masjid Manurul Ilmi (JMMI) who organises religious activities in ITS also publishes a wall magazine with strong ideological contents, including a call to refuse nationalism and caliphate propaganda.

In Palu, a Salafi study group that is based in Al-Amanah Mosque on Ki Hajar Dewantara street is active in reading Salafi books, such as *Tsalatsatul Ushul* by Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahab At-Tamimi and *Taudhihul Ahkam* (syarah Bulughul Maram by Syaikh Abdullah ibn Abdurrahman al-Bassam). The study group is also attended by youths who are enrolled in schools and colleges in Palu. Meanwhile, Wahdah Islamiyah, a Salafi organisation headquartered in Makassar, also has a routine study group for students. However, the influence of Jamaah Tabligh is also quite strong in Palu. Many mosques, schools and universities use *Fadha'il al-Amal* by Maulana Zakariyya as a reference for preaching. Many high schools also provide short courses (*kultum*) before afternoon prayers and students are usually tasked to take turns in giving lectures.

In Denpasar, LDK utilises the mosque and mushalla near campus to organise their Islamic study group. Among the books studied in those premises are *Syarah al-Ushul al-Salasah*, *Mawqif Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah min al-Ahwa' wa al-Bida'*, *Mukhtashar Minhas al-Qashidin*, *Qawa'id wa Ushul Jami'ah*, *al-Qaul al-Mufid fi Kitab al-Tauhid*, *al-Mukhtashar al-Hasis fi Hayani Manhaj al-Salaf*. They also organise "Bali Mengaji" event that invites scholars from outside Bali such as Syafiq Basalamah, Salim A. Fillah and Bachtiar Natsir. The scholars are ideologically diversed but still belong in Islamist category, such as Salafi, Tarbawi and Tahriri. When they planned to invite Habib Rizieq in 2017, it created so much controversies that the event itself had to be cancelled.

5. Book Discussions

Book discussion events are also an important media for students to know more about the books being discussed. Some such events invite book writers to talk; some invite activists believed to be capable of analyzing the books. The books discussed mostly reflect the organiser's religious ideological preference.

Book discussions can be held for limited audience or openly in a big event, such as during *Islamic Book Fair*. In Padang, for example, Rohis of SMA Adabiyah once organised *Back to Tarbiyyah*, a Tarbawi book published by Pro-U, and a popular Islamic book, *Fikih Gaul* (*Cool Fiqh*) by Thobib al-Asyhar. Bung Hatta University's Islamic study group regularly organises book discussions every Sunday by involving the student unit in the faculty. Universitas Andalas (UNAND) also organises book discussions quite often, such as a discussion on *Membuka Jendela Hati* (*Opening the Window to the Heart*), which was written by an UNAND alumnus, Yuda Oktana. Universitas Baiturrahmah has a monthly book discussion that has discussed, among others, *Sakura with You* by Dinni Ramayani. Universitas Baiturrahmah also invited Riris Setio Rini, a Muslim convert, to discuss about her book, *Story of My Hijrah*, and Dammais, an ITB alumnus who is known among LDK activists for his work, *Inspiration Palapa* and *Menuju Kampus Madani* (*Towards a Civilised Campus*). In Pontianak, a book discussion on *Syariat Cinta* (*The Sharia of Love*) by Buya Nanang Zakariya was organised as a part of pre-Marital lecture in Asmaul Husna Mosque on February 2017. In Ambon, Salim A. Fillah's book *Lapis-Lapis Keberkahan* (*Layers of Blessings*) was discussed by LDK activists, while *Tafsir Al-Quran di Medsos* by Nadirsyah Hosen was discussed by Majlis Taklim of Socio-Political Faculty in Ambon. There are also book discussions organised by Islamic student organisations. KAMMI Dewata has held a discussion on *Sejarah Emas dan Atlas Perjalanan Nabi Muhammad SAW* by Shafiyurrahman al-Mubarakfury, and *Sahabat-Sahabat Rasulullah* by Mahmud al-Mishri on December 24th, 2017. HMI and Unud also discuss Nurcholish Madjid's books, a typical activity for HMI activists.

Big events such as Islamic Book Fair (IBF), which is held in several cities, usually have a book discussion session that invites prominent authors although it is not always the case. In Denpasar, for example, the 1st Islamic Book Fair 2014 held a book discussion session that invited Peggy Melati

Sukma, Habiburrahman El Shirazy, and Felix Siauw. A similar sight can also be found in other IBF.

However, there are also cases of book discussions being cancelled due to the insistence of some Islamist movement. One example was a book discussion on Irsyad Manji's book titled *Allah, Liberty and Love* in UGM and LKiS, Yogyakarta in 2012. The book discussion on *Islam Tuhan Islam Manusia* by Haidar Bagir in IAIN Suakarta was also opposed by Islamist groups, although the show managed to go on with strict security from the police force.

While attending book discussions does not mean buying or reading the books, such an event can give the visitors knowledge on the main points of discussion. These events also function as a meet and greet session between authors and their fans.

6. Online Media Access

The shift from printed to online media has made Muslim youth rely on the internet to learn about Islam. Many students nowadays are learning Islam through online media, such as smarphone apps, Facebook, Instagram, Youtube, Line, Whatsapp and Instagram. By using those media, they learn about al-Al-Quran interpretations, Islamic theology, and fiqh. Some students access preaching videos of Ustadz Syafiq Basalamah and Zakir Naik who are both affiliated to Salafi ideology; Salim A. Fillah who is affiliated to Tarbawi; Felix Siauw who is affiliated to Tahriri; Habib Rizieq from FPI, and popular and inter-ideology Abdul Shomad. Some also access preaching videos of non-Islamist scholars such as Habib Munzir al-Munsawa, who leans more on Islamic mysticism. These are common phenomena found among Rohis and LDK activists although non-activists do access those kinds of videos.

Not all of those sermons and preaches were based on book studies. However, at least several referred Islamic literatures used as aural texts were

quoted. There are also many cases of preachers who based their preaches on certain books. The book title and author that they mention are basically a form of awareness-raising to recommended books that the listeners are supposed to read. These online preaching videos also teach people about books they are not supposed to read, such as Shia and liberal Islamic books.

Conclusions

The circulation and transmission of Islamic literatures show the dynamics of availability and accessibility of certain literatures, especially among Muslim youth in some parts of Indonesia. In addition to the unique dynamic within each region, the circulation and transmission process itself is also aligned with the academic dynamic of the Muslim community itself.

The development of Islamic thoughts and movements has created not only a ground for contestation between Islamic groups but also a wider market for Islamic books, magazines, and online media. This also means that the spread of those literatures cannot only be interpreted spatially, but also intellectually. This kind of dynamic demands an availability of Islamic literatures in bookstores, both offline and online, in libraries, and in book fairs. This in turn will also drive their continuous production. The dynamic will not only impact the circulation and transmission but also Islamic ideas and thoughts. There is a reciprocal relationship between circulation and transmission on the one hand, and the development of Islamic thought on the other. What needs to be underlined is that circulation and transmission of Islamic literatures is not only a matter availability, but also whether the literatures themselves are accessed, read, discussed, studied, debated, spread and appropriated based on the local context of the time. The matter of appropriation will be the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

The Development of Popular Islamism Literature in Indonesia: Appropriation, Adaptation, and Genre

Najib Kailani

Introduction

The early trend of Islamic literatures in Indonesia was dominated by translated works of Islamist thinkers. Those translated books were massively distributed, read, and discussed among Muslim activists in non-religious universities such as ITB, UGM, UI and IPB. Some of the popular books among Muslim youth circa 1980s were Sayyid Qutb's *Ma'alim fi ath-Thariq-Petunjuk Jalan yang Menggetarkan Iman,* Hasan Al-Banna's *Majmu'ah Rasail-Risalah Pergerakan Ikhwanul Muslimin* and Ali Syariati's *Tugas Cendekiawan Muslim, Islam Agama Protes,* and *Kemuliaan Mati Syahid* (Watson, 2005).

Studies on Islamic literatures in Indonesia have observed a shift from the classical literature (Bruinessen, 1990; Azra, 2004) to the contemporary one, which includes Islamic magazines such as Sabili, Jihadmagz, Annida,

and Elfata as well as Islamic literatures written by local authors such as Abdullah Gymnastiar, Yusuf Mansur and Habiburrahman El-Shiraezy. In addition, these studies also illustrated the distribution of those magazines among youth through *halaqah* and analysed the political-economy aspect in the publishing of those ideological Islamic literatures (Watson, 2005; Rijal, 2005; Muzakki, 2009; Kailani, 2010; Latief, 2010).

Moving ahead from existing academic studies, this chapter will analyse the trend of Islamic literatures read and distributed among contemporary youth. Unlike the findings of previous research that indicates the significance of ideological Islamic literatures among Muslim youth, this chapter will convey on how the Muslim generation born in 1990s – otherwise known as the millennials – do not actually read the same Islamic literatures as the generation before them. This new Muslim generation prefers to access Islamic knowledge from works written by Indonesian Muslim authors who appropriate Islamist ideas and bend them into a pop culture in the forms of popular writing, novels and comics.

This chapter argues that the popularity of works made by new Islamist authors among the millennials is possible due to their ability in bending ideological messages of Tahriri, Tarbawi and Salafi and making them fit with the context and aspiration of Indonesian Muslim youth. These new authors are able to marry Islamic ideas and pop cultures. Islamism, which used to be associated with rigidness and fierceness, is now presented in ambivalence, inconsistence, and paradox through novels, comics and motivation books. This represents what Dominic Muller refers to as '*Pop-Islamism*' (Muller, 2014).

The following explanation will discuss about new Islamic literatures popular among contemporary Indonesian Muslim youth and how their authors manage to appropriate and adapt ideological Islamic literatures into novels, comics, and motivation books in order to socialise Islamic ideas to contemporary Indonesian Muslim youth. This new Islamic literatures

were driven by young Muslim authors affiliated to contemporary Islamist movements such as Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, Salafi and Tarbiyah. This chapter will highlight the authors and their works in each Islamist ideology. The finding of our research in 16 cities during 2018 shows that Muslim authors popular among Millennial Muslim are Felix Y. Siauw, Salim A. Fillah, and Abu Al-Ghifari. The next part will highlight the works of the three popular writers to show how Islamic ideas, including Tahriri, Tarbawi and Salafi, were appropriated and adapted by those writers.

Tahriri Literature in Indonesia: The Rhetorics of Caliphate

Tahriri literature circulating in Indonesia generally comprises translation works of the ideology's pioneers such as Taqiyyudin An-Nabhani and Abdul Qadir Zallum. The works of these two thinkers are published by Hizbut Tahrir-affiliated publishers such as HTI Press, Khilafah Press, and Pustaka Al-Kautsar. In the last decade, some HTI-affiliated Indonesian writers or HTI sympathisers have begun to reach the publishing world by publishing popular books that promote Taqiyyudin An-Nabhani's ideas into self-development, motivational novels and comics. Based on our field findings in 16 cities in Indonesia, one of the authors whose work is widely read by young people in high school and college is currently Felix Y. Siauw. Felix Siauw's works generally have a genre of Islamic motivation that mixes and wraps Tahriri's ideas into the language of self-development.

Referring to the mapping of the ideological tendencies of contemporary Islamist literature in Indonesia, as described in previous chapters, Felix Y. Siauw's works represent the ideology of Tahriri or literatures oriented towards the Hizbut-Tahrir ideology. Felix Y. Siauw is a popular inspirator, writer, and ustadz who is very active on social media. He wrote many books echoing Tahriri Islamist ideas. Two of his books that our informants mentioned the most are entitled *Beyond the Inspiration* and *Muhammad Al-Fatih 1453*. *Beyond the Inspiration* was first published in 2010 under the Khilafah Press

publisher and was subsequently re-published in 2013 under the banner of Al-Fatih Press, a new publisher company made by Felix Y. Siauw. Under Al-Fatih Press, *Beyond the Inspiration* has been reprinted seven times in December 2014, while *Al-Muhammad Al-Fatih 1453* was first published in March 2013 and was reprinted ten times by February 2016.

Beyond the Inspiration is a popular writing that exposes the discourse of 'Islamic awakening' through the language of self-development (self-help or personal development). In this book, Felix Siauw emphasises the importance of Islamic law and the application of God's law in the political and governmental system. The book was designed in English titles with curious titles for its chapters such as "Life is choice," "Get the Guidance Easier," "The Way to Belief," "The True Shahadah," "As God Assigns," "Beyond the Inspiration," and "Living the Afterlife." All those titles seem to convince readers of educated young Muslims to understand the meaning of life as Muslims and the consequences that must be dealt with by Muslims, i.e. obedience to God by implementing the teachings of Islam in everyday life.

In the first chapter titled "Life is choice," Felix Siauw invites young Muslim readers to become aware of the negative image attached to a devout Muslim. In his description, Felix mentions that the negative images are deliberately made by the West who want to undermine Islam. At the beginning of this chapter, Felix invites young Muslims to get out of the 'moral panic' that engulfs young people like promiscuity and negative behavior by emphasising that one's future will be determined by the choices made today:

> "Muslims who determine that their goal is God's paradise will always invest every time, effort, wealth, self, family, even their lives in the way of Allah. They will undergo every consequence with full awareness, obedience, and sincerity as a part they must have to live. They will never be bored to keep every commandment of God no matter how difficult. They will honor their parents, love their children and love them as much as they care for each other. They will not be bored in rejecting any form

> of vulgarity. They will reject *riba* (usury) in any form, stay away from adultery and lust, prevent themselves from being bribed and bribing, as well as from gossiping and talking negatively of their brothers and sisters"(Siauw, 2014: 28).

After a strong emphasis on Muslim choice, Felix Siauw elaborates on the importance of applying the law of God. With the title "As God Assigns" Felix unravels the limits of human rules and how those rules are fluid and unstable. According to him, laws made by humans produce more harm and destruction, such as the destruction of life and nature. He affirms that only the Law of God is stable and beneficial. Felix Siauw writes:

> "In the political sphere, we witnessed the birth of the imperial political order, the exploitation of nations and slavery in the name of mankind. In the social aspect, we take just one example, free sex. In the US alone, from 1973 to 2002, free sex resulted in 42 million abortions or 4,000 per day. Now, abortions in the US are estimated at 2 million/year. In Indonesia more severe abortion occurred 2.6 million times/year. This number is more than the total number of the victims of the Vietnam War (58,151 lives) + Korean War (54,246 lives) + WW II (407,316 lives) + American Civil War (498,332 lives)" (Siauw, 2014: 163).

Felix further illustrates that the capitalist system has succeeded in making two extreme oppositions of human: one that survives against obesity and one that survives against malnutrition (Siauw, 2014: 164). After exposing the weaknesses of the human system, Felix Siauw underlines the importance of applying the Islamic Sharia as a political and social system, since it comes from God, by saying that sharia is the solution of human problems. Referring to the Qur'anic verses about the 'Khalifah' (Al-Baqarah: 30) and related verses, Felix Siauw argues that the experience of the Khulafaurasyidin (Four Islamic Emperors) and the later Caliphate has shown success in the past. Therefore, the caliphate system or 'one leadership

system for all Muslims' is a system compatible with God's command (Siauw, 2014: 183).

The Ideal Muslim Youth in the Millennial Era

The central theme of *Beyond the Inspiration* is in the seventh chapter of the same title 'Beyond the Inspiration'. In this section, Felix highlights inspiring figures in Islamic history such as Salman Al-Farisi with his brilliant idea of *khandaq* (trench); Sa'ad bin Abi Waqash who succeeded in conquering Persia, and; Muhammad Al-Fatih, the conqueror of Constantinople. The narrative about Muhammad Al-Fatih seems to dominate the contents of this chapter. According to Felix Siauw, Muhammad Al-Fatih is a manifestation of the hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad, who said that Islam would conquer the Roman civilisation in the future. The Imam Ahmad hadiths says: "Surely Constantinople will be conquered by you. So, the best kind of leader is the leader (of Constantinople) and the best kind of troops are the troops who conquer it."

Felix Siauw depicts Muhammad Al-Fatih as a young man who has high commitment to his ideals, intelligent, confident, and who understands the dynamic of global politics at the time. To build a strong narrative on Al-Fatih, Felix Siauw constructed a young figure of Al-Fatih tirelessly trying to fulfill his dream of conquering Constantinople. According to him, belief and faith coupled with precise analysis will give birth to an extra-ordinary war strategy. Al-Fatih's troops tremendously transport their warships through the mountains to penetrate the fortress of Constantinople. Felix Siauw underlines that belief and faith in the hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad about the conquest of Constantinople is a whip of the spirit of Muhammad Al-Fatih and his troops to defeat Constantinople. This is what Felix Siauw calls 'Beyond the Inspiration'.

The figure of Al-Fatih becomes the entrance of Felix Siauw to present the ideal type of Muslim youth and spread Tahriri's ideas to young people.

The picture of Muhammad Al-Fatih as a pious, intelligent young man, who has noble ideals and is also heroic, looks new in the discourse of Islamism in contemporary Indonesia. To reinforce this image, Felix Siauw specifically wrote a book titled *Muhammad Al-Fatih 1453* published by Khilafah Press in 2011. The book was then re-published in 2013 under Al-Fatih Press. Similar to *Beyond the Inspiration*, Felix Siauw features *Muhammad Al-Fatih 1453* with chapter titles in English such as 'Stairway to Constantinople', 'Emergence of Ghazi State', 'The Promised Sultan', 'the Best Army', and so on. The book has experienced ten reprints, which show its popularity and influence among young readers.

Felix Siauw presents Muhammad Al-Fatih 1453 as a popular history book about the figure of Al-Fatih. In this book, Felix builds the ideal image of Al-Fatih as a pious, talented, and intelligent young man. He is described as always praying in congregation and never consistently doing night prayers (*tahajud*) and being able to master various languages in his teenage years such as Arabic, Turkish, Persian, French, Greek, Serbian, Hebrew, and Latin. In addition to his intellectual abilities, Al-Fatih is also described as an expert in warfare such as horseback riding and using weapons. Felix describes the figure of Al-Fatih as follows:

> "His face is handsome, with a medium height and a muscular body. Anyone who sees him will be fixated on his two sharp eyes, as if looking far ahead at the end of everything. He is a young man who has strong spirit and flexibility in achieving it. He has the wit of intellect, the speed of motion, and the courage that will be remembered by every friend and his opponent ... A conqueror who also loves poetry, a genius strategist who is also a believer, a man so adept at war techniques and strategies as he relies on the prayers of ulama. A Muslim who is inspired by Muhammad PBUH ... "(Siauw, 2016: 57)

The most important part of Al-Fatih's narrative in *Muhammad Al-Fatih 1453* is located in the chapter titled 'Al-Fatih The Next: Mehmed

II Legacy.' In this section, Felix Siauw begins by writing "See Beyond The Eyes Can See" to invite young Muslims to emulate the legacy of a pious Al-Fatih, a man of commitment, who is full of dreams and knowledge. Al-Fatih's legacy is expected to be the ideal type of Muslim youth today.

The portrayal of the masculine figure of Al-Fatih, who possesses extensive knowledge and the mastery of language, as described by Felix Siauw above, illustrates how youthfulness and Islamism are so beautifully married. The idea of Islamism on the importance of implementing a complete Islamic law through the political system and the government of Islam is delivered in a language of motivation in order to arouse the spirit and passion of youth through the symbols of superhero masculinity and heroism found in Western pop culture like Superman, Batman and others.

The way Felix Siauw concocted the narrative and reasoning of his two books, *Beyond the Inspiration* and *Muhammad Al-Fatih 1453*, appears to be strongly influenced by Taqiyudin an-Nabhani's works, such as the *Peraturan Hidup dalam Islam* and *Konsepsi Politik Hizbut Tahrir* published by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. Felix Siauw nimbly appropriates Taqiyyudin An-Nabhani's ideas into languages that are easier to digest for young readers and use motivation and self-development languages.

In addition to presenting an ideal type of Muslim youth through Al-Fatih, Felix Siauw also publishes popular works highlighting 'moral panic' among Muslim youth. The two most widely read books by our respondents in various cities are *Yuk Berhijab* and *Udah Putusin Aja!* Both books were originally published by Mizan, then re-published under the banner of Al-Fatih Press. Unlike the earlier works of Felix Siauw, especially *Beyond the Inspiration* and *Muhammad Al-Fatih 1453*, these two books of Felix Siauw appear in a completely new packaging with the dominance of illustrations rather than writing. This new look seems to be aimed at grabbing the hearts of millennial youths who tend to be attracted to good and easy-to-digest packaging rather than rigid and monotonous ones.

New Tahriri Literature: Adaptation and Genre

The narration and representation of Al-Fatih in the two books by Felix Siauw, as described above, in turn inspire young Muslims sympathetic to Hizbut-Tahrir-style ideas of Islamism. One of the young people who adapted the work of Felix Siauw into a novel is Sayf Muhammad Isa. Calling his work as historical fiction, Muhammad Isa presents the figure of Al-Fatih as a protagonist vis a vis Dracula as an antagonist, where good is always confronted with evil and light confronted with darkness.

The trilogy novel entitled *The Chronicles of Draculesti* by Muhammad Isa depicts the figure of Vlad Dracula as an obstacle to the achievement of Al-Fatih's goal to seize Constantinople. In contrast to popular stories about Dracula as a blood-drinker, Muhammad Isa explains that the origin of Dracula's story is closely related to an important figure who conducted massacres of Al-Fatih's soldiers. In addition, the title of Muhammad Isa's book also reminds us of C.S Lewis' *The Chronicles of Narnia,* which has been adapted to the Hollywood big screen. The similarity of the title with the work of C.S. Lewis explicitly conveys how Muhammad Isa is familiar with Western pop culture.

The Chronicles of Draculesti was originally published independently in 2011 under the banner of D'Rise Publishing and experienced reprints in a matter of months. Seeing the reader's enthusiasm for the *Chronicles of Draculesti* trilogy, Khilafah Press, the main publisher of Hizbut-Tahrir books republished Syaf Muhammad Isa's novel. This trilogy was later developed by Syaf Muhammad Isa and Felix Siauw under the four-volume *Chronicles of Ghazi*.

In addition to being adapted in novel form, the book *Muhammad Al-Fatih 1453* is also adapted in comic form by Handri Satria and Sayf Muhammad Isa under the title *Muhammad Al-Fatih* published by Salsabila, subsidiary of Pustaka Al-Kautsar, which publishes many Tahriri books in Indonesia. By using Japanese manga style, this comic looks attractive to

young Indonesian Muslim readers as evidenced by its six reprints since it first appeared in 2016.

Western and Japanese comics have long been a part of Indonesian youth culture. In the 1980s, the Sinar Harapan newspaper published the French comic *Asterix* and *Mexican Minim*. Afterwards, the two were published by Pustaka Sinar Harapan. In the 1990s, Japanese manga such as Dragon Ball, Doraemon, Sailor Moon also flooded and attracted many Indonesian teenagers (Sen and Hill, 2000: 30-31). The comics were very popular among Indonesian teenagers, especially when some private television company appears (Kitley, 2000). The first private television that aired *Doraemon* animated series was RCTI, followed by *Dragon Ball*.

The phenomenon of appropriation and adaptation of Al-Fatih's novels and comics above demonstrates the dynamic hybridity and intersection between the global pop culture that floods Muslim youth from all directions with the ideas of Islamism. The title of the book appears to refer to popular novels in the West, the comic illustrations typical of Japanese manga, as well as stories commonly seen from Hollywood films, but presented in the narrative of Islamism, thus showing cracks, ambiguities, and inconsistencies. Rigid and fierce Islamism appears to be different when met with global fun and pop culture (Nilan, 2006; Bayat, 2007; Schielke, 2009; Bayat and Herera, 2010; Deeb and Harb, 2013).

Tarbawi Literature in Indonesia: Promoting New Piety

In the 90s, Muslim activists affiliated with and sympathetic to the ideas of Muslim Brotherhood began to actively appropriate and adapt the works of Islamist Tarbiyah ideologues into popular writing and daily themes. Some of the Tarbiyah activists in Indonesia who actively echo the ideas of Muslim Brotherhood through popular writing are Anis Matta and Cahyadi Takariawan.

Anis Matta is a prominent Tarbiyah activist and also one of the translators of Muslim Brotherhood's handbook titled *Majumu'ah Rasail:*

Risalah Pergerakan Ikhwanul Muslimin (*An Essay on Muslim Brotherhood Movement*/Era Adicita Intermedia) by Hasan Al-Banna. Anis Matta is also quite productive in publishing popular books containing Muslim Brotherhood's ideas. The most popular books that he made are, among others, *Spiritualitas Kader* (*Spirituality of a* Cadre/Yayasan Lingkar Pemuda Pembaharu 2014), *Membentuk Karakter Cara Islam* (*Islamic Character Building*/Al-I'tishom Cahaya Umat 2002) and *Serial Cinta* (*Love Series*/ Tarbawi Press 2008).

The book *Serial Cinta* and *Sebelum Anda Mengambil Keputusan Besar Itu* (*Before You Take That Big Decision*/Syaamil 2003) are ithe most sought after from Anis Matta, which argue about the importance of early marriage for Muslim youth in order to avoid premarital sex and to understand the meaning of love according to Islam. The *Serial Cinta* book is referred to by many Tarbiyah sympathisers who wrote about Tarbiyah. The prominent examples of this case are Munnawar Zaman's work, *Jangan takut Married: Manajemen Cinta Pra-Nikah, Menuju Nikah Penuh Berkah* (*Don't be Afraid of Marriages: Pre-marital Love Management, Towardsa Blessed Marriage*) and Redha Helmi's work, 30 Juz Mencari Cinta: Belajar Memahami Cinta Secara Sederhana (*30 Chapters to Find Love: Learning to Love in a Simple Way*). The two authors often cited Anis Matta's work to strengthen their arguments on *ta'aruf* (matchmaking) and the danger of premarital relationship.

Aside from Anis Matta, another Tarbiyah activist who is quite active in making popular works on Tarbiyah is Cahyadi Takariawan. Takariawan is a very productive Tarbiyah writer. His works often discuss marriage, family and women issues according to Tarbiyah views or widely known as *keakhwatan*. His most popular books are, among others, *Di Jalan Dakwah Aku Menikah* (*I Got Married in the Way of Islam*/Era Intermedia 2005), *Pernak-Pernik Rumah Tangga Islami* (*Islamic Household's Furnitures*/Era Intermedia 2007), and *Izinkan Aku Meminangmu* (*Allow Me to Propose to*

You/Era Intermedia.) Takariawan's works are often cited by authors who are concerned about the issue of marriage among youths, such as Kusmarwanti M. Idham, *Smart Love: Jurus Jitu Mengelola Cinta* (*Tips and Tricks to Manage Love*) and Bunda Novi, *Cinta Semanis Kopi, Sepahit Susu* (*Love as Sweet as Coffee, as Bitter as Milk*). Unlike his books from the 2000s, currently Cahyadi Takariawan is employing a book title that employs motivational words, which is popular among contemporary Muslim middle class who love the Wonderful Series such as *Wonderful Family*, *Wonderful Husband*, *Wonderful Wife* and *Wonderful Couple*.

New Tarbawi Literature: The Image of Pious and Cool Young People

If the works of Anis Matta and Cahyadi Takariawan are mostly emphasising on Tarbiyah language and the ideas of Muslim Brotherhood, some Tarbiyah female activists, such as Helvy Tiana Rosa and Asma Nadia are more concerned about the issue of 'moral panic' among young people; they prefer marrying languages of Tarbiyah with pop culture. One of their important efforts was to create a Muslim teen magazine named *Annida* in 1991 who adapted Tarbawi ideas into short stories and novels. Through *Annida*, the Tarbiyah female writers introduced Arabic terms attached to Tarbiyah culture such as 'Ikhwan', 'Akhwat', 'jaiz (jaga-izzah- or maintaining prestige)', 'syar'i and trendy ', and 'haraki (movement)'. In other words, *Annida* has pioneered a pretty combination of Islamism and pop culture. By presenting a fictional genre containing Islamic messages with this unique blend of language, *Annida* magazine is able to attract teenagers who are hungry for fresh and trendy reading. Stories of women who decide to wear hijab – also known as hijrah – are the most common in this magazine (Kailani, 2010).

In addition, *Annida* also popularised the ideal type of Muslim youth with the term "smart, cool, syar'i" among young Muslims in the 2000s. While teen magazines such as *HAI*, *Aneka*, and *Gadis* regularly feature beautiful and handsome cover boys and cover girls, *Annida* presents a new ideal type

among Muslim youths called 'Annida Muslim teenagers.' However, not just any model can appear there as certain criteria are imposed by Annida, i.e. the model must be people who have personal integrity both in terms of personal and intellectual piety. If the model is a woman, then she has to wear hijab and if the model is a man, he must not smoke nor be fond of dating (Kailani, 2009, 2012).

The ideal type of young Muslim in Tarbiyah is clearly described in the famous short story of Helvy Tiana Rosa entitled "Ketika Mas Gagah Pergi." The work of Helvy Tiana Rosa, which was reported by *The Straits Times* and *Republika* as a pioneer of Islamic fiction in Indonesia, was first featured in *Annida* magazine. The short story was recently adapted into a widescreen movie in 2016 with the same title and produced by Indo-Broadcast and Aksi Cepat Tanggap. The film is widely played on Rohis shows in schools and colleges.

The short story "Ketika Mas Gagah Pergi" tells the story of a young man named Gagah and his younger sister Gita. Once upon a time Gita finds his brother's behavior and attitude to be odd. Mas Gagah, the man who used to be her role model, has now changed. He refuses to shake hands with women, begins to enjoy listening to *nasyid*, wearing Islamic shirt, and keeping his beard. This change upsets her. She tells her anxiety to her close friend Tika, who has been wearing a hijab since last month. Tika happily explains to Gita that her brother haXs become an *ikhwan*. Gita who does not know about the "foreign" term is asked about its meaning to Tika. Tika explains that *ikhwan* is a term to refer to men and *akhwat* to women. Tika describes *ikhwan* and *akhwat* by mentioning Gita's friends who are active in Rohis (Islamic student organisation). From that moment on, Gita starts calling her brother with the term *ikhwan*. Furthermore, Gita is starting to get invited to the Islamic study group held on campus and mosque. Even her mother who was not wearing a hijab begins to wear one after being instigated by Mas Gagah. Therefore, on the eve of her birthday, Gita

promises to wear hijab as a surprise for her brother. Gita has learned to wear it from her friend Tika. However, ahead of that important moment, his brother passes away on his way home after giving an Islamic lecture in Bogor. Although she is sad due to being left behind by his beloved brother, Gita gets a special birthday present: a green robe and hijab. From that moment Gita promises herself to wear the hijab forever (Rosa, 2000).

To amass writers who promote Tarbawi ideas to the Indonesian public, especially young people, Helvy Tiana Rosa, Asma Nadia, and Muthmainnah established an authorship organisation called Forum Lingkar Pena (FLP) in 1997. The organisation focuses its movement to produce young writers who carry the spirit of missionaries or otherwise referred to as *da'wah bil-qalam* (preaching with pen) (Arnez, 2009).

According to Helvy Tiana Rosa, there are at least two reasons behind the founding of FLP. First, local and international news is not proportional and tends to corner the Islamic world. Second, theres is a lack of fictional works that can invite readers to return to Islamic values. The existing fictional readings at that time were considered to alienate the audience from Islamic values. Therefore, an authorship forum with the membership of young writers was established to create young writers who can carry Islamic missionary missions and to counter the unbalanced news about Muslim society and creating works that can enlighten Indonesian readers (Rosa, 2003: 13-14).

The main theme promoted by FLP writers is *hijrah*. Hijrah is a popular term among Tarbiyah activists. This term refers to the experience of the Prophet Muhammad who left Makkah for Medina due to being threatened to be killed by the tribe of Quraysh who oppose the spread of Islam in Mecca. After moving to Medina, the Prophet then composed a power which in turn could rule Mecca back. In contemporary development, the term hijrah was popularised again by Muslim Brotherhood activists such as Sayyid Qutb, which was interpreted as an attempt to abandon "non-

Islamic" life – letting go the influence of Western culture in orderto re-apply Islamic teachings and values in everyday life.

As "how to" books flood the Indonesian book market through the translations of Stephen R. Covey's *Seven Habits of Highly Effective* and Jack Canfield's *Chicken Soup*, the Tarbiyah activists began packing Tarbiyah ideas into the 'how to' or personal development genre. For example, Asma Nadia wrote a book entitled *Jangan Jadi Muslimah Nyebelin*! (Nadia, 2007). Published by Circle Pena Publishing House, this book is a guide for young Muslim women to organise their lives. This book contains tips for young Muslim women in everyday life and written in a light and slick language relatable to teenage life, such as how to overcome the smell of sweat due to wearing hijab, bad breath, making a good appearance and even the behaviors that should not be shown by a Muslim woman in everyday life, such as "Ruining the joy of friends," "Being a miss perfect," "Being a jerk" and more. For example in the chapter of "Ruining the joy of friends," Nadia wrote the following:

> Suppose you have a friend who are enthusiastically telling the stories of her birthday party and how she received an awesome gift from her parents, and then some Muslim woman snarkily comments, "Eew, it's not *syar'i* you know."
> Such comment will immediately ruin someone's happiness
> So, try to:
> - Respond to good news with positive comments
> - If you think that there is something that must be corrected in that happiness (such as being not Islamic), at least think about it for a second and try to find a more appropriate way and time to deliver it (Nadia, 2007: 67-68).

In addition to being about Muslim women, a book with similar tone was also published by FLP with title *Membongkar Rahasia Ikhwan Nyebelin* (2008). The book was written by Koko Nata and Deni Prabowo. The book that discusses several types of Ikhwan is inviting its reader to return to

an ideal model of *ikhwan* who lower his gazes (presumably to not look at women), preserve thin bread, is pious, active in missionary and intellectual.

In addition to self-development and 'how to' literature above, many Tarbiyah activists and sympathisers also produce teenlits with Islamic messages in the form of comic. One of them is the Nida Series, *Tunggu Aku Nida!* (Yasmina Fajri, 2005). Nida is depicted as a teenage woman who wears long veil, active, intellectual, and always inspirational to her peers. The comic *Tunggu Aku Nida!* begins with the decision of Nida to wear hijab during her final year of junior high. At that time, a guy named Yosi has a crush on Nida and he is active in his village's Islamic study group. However, Nida who is also active in her study group assumes that "dating" is prohibited in Islam. Thus, she rejects Yosi's confession and reminds Yosi that dating will only cause them to fall to the trap of promiscuity which has been warned by Islam. In short, this comic tells the everyday life of a teenager through Nida's eyes.

Popular Tarbawi Literature in the Millennial Era

In addition to Anis Matta, Cahyadi Takariawan, Helvy Tiana Rosa and Asma Nadia, our research findings show that a Tarbiyah author whose work is most widely read today by the millenial generation is Salim A. Fillah. He is a prolific Tarbiyah writer who publishes his writings through Pro U Media channels. Besides being a writer, Fillah is also known as a scholar who routinely goes around giving lectures in mosques and Tarbiyah activities. His language is calm and compelling and he links his lecture contents to the books he wrote. In recent years, Fillah has been regularly invited to Muslim studies in various countries such as UK, Australia and Netherlands.

Salim A. Fillah is not a newcomer to the world of Tarbiyah preaching. He has been active in religious activities, especially Rohis, since he was in high school. This SMAN 1 Yogyakarta alumnus is reputedly called as

the pioneer of Rohis activity in SMAN 1 Yogyakarta, which is thick with Islamic atmosphere (see Salim, Kailani & Azekiyah, 2011). In addition, he is also known as a mentor in Tarbiyah Islamic activities at UGM campus and some high schools in Yogyakarta.

All of Salim A. Fillah's works were published by Pro U Media, a publisher founded in 2000 and intensively publish books that carry Tarbiyah ideas. Pro U Media was spearheaded by activists of the Jogokariyan mosque, a phenomenal mosque in Yogyakarta because of its activism in responding to the politics of the country. Jogokariyan Mosque is one of the centers of Islamic activities led by Ustadz Jazir. He is one of Masyumi cadres, activist of BKPMI which later changed its name to BKPMRI in the 80s. He was imprisoned by the Suharto regime during the New Order era because of his rejection of the single principle (Lutfi, 2017). Under the tutelage of ustadz Jazir, various religious activities are regularly carried out, including the teachings held by Salim A. Fillah.

The books written by Salim A. Fillah generally highlight the world of da'wah and adolescence as well as featuring Tarbawi values. His works include *Saksikan bahwa Aku Seorang Muslim* (2007), *Dalam Dekapan Ukhuwah* (2010), Jalan *Cinta Para Pejuang* (2008) and *Nikmatnya Pacaran Setelah Pernikahan*. The first book published by Pro U Media is the work of Salim A Fillah entitled *Nikmatnya Pacaran setelah Pernikahan* (2003)[18] which, according to Pro U Media, was a best seller in the book market and experienced so many reprints.

The book *Nikmatnya Pacaran Setelah Pernikahan* is a self-help book that explores the challenges and risks faced by teenagers if they are unable to control their attraction to the opposite sex. By referring to the Al-Quran, hadiths, popular *nasyid* and opinions of figures and scholars such as Sayyid Qutb, Ath Thahtawi and senior Tarbiyah activists such as Annis Matta and Cahyadi Takariawan, Fillah encourages his young readers to avoid dating

18 Http://proumedia.co.id/taaruf/ diakses 19 Februari 2018.

in order to enjoy 'true' intimacy after marriage – without the risk of *zina*[19]. Aside from those books, Fillah also wrote a book titled *Barakallahu Laka: The Happiness of Celebrating Love* (2011), which contains advice for people who are about to marry.

Salafi Literature in Indonesia: Appropriation and Adaptation

Similar to Tahriri and Tarbawi, Salafi books are usually dominated by the translation of Salafi scholars such as Nasiruddin Al-Albani, Shalih Utsaimin, etc. These books are usually published by Pustaka Imam Syafi'I, Pustaka Ibnu Umar, and Mujahid Press. However in recent times, 'Salafi purist' ideas are also appropriated by Salafi activists to be read by young readers. One of the popular Salafi author who was mentioned a lot in our research is Abu Al-Ghifari.

Just like Tahriri and Tarbawi authors, Abu Al-Ghifari's works also feature the theme of 'moral panics' among Muslim youth. Some of Al-Ghifari's books include *Gelombang Kejahatan Seks Remaja Modern* (*Wave of Sexual Crime Attempted by Modern Teens*/Mujahid Press 2003), *Bila Jodoh Tak Kunjung Datang* (*If the Soulmate Never Comes*/Mujahid Press 2007), and *Kudung Gaul: Berjilbab Tapi Telanjang* (*Cool Hijabers: Wearing Hijab but Naked*/Mujahid Press 2007). If Tahriri books are made with pleasing aesthetic in mind, Salafi books tend to avoid illustrations of human and living things. Furthermore, popular Salafi books often make a reference to Al-Quran and hadiths in accordance with Salafi scholar's opinions.

One of Abu Al-Ghifari's books often mentioned by our respondent is *Kudung Gaul: Berhijab tapi Telanjang*. This book was first published in March 2001 and was reprinted twenty times by 2007. The book highlights the phenomenon of cool hijabers among teenage Muslim women in Indonesia. Al-Ghifari in this book states that the phenomenon of cool

19 TN: Touching opposite sex who has no direct familial link constitutes as *zina*, one of the heaviest sins in Islamic teaching – punishable by being stoned to death in Sharia Law.

hijabers is influenced by the western mode of fashion. To this, Al-Ghifari writes:

> "Islam associates hijab as a protector of women. It protects women from the dangers produced by men (QS Al-Ahzab: 59). In contrast, the West, who are mostly Jews and Christians, advocates women clothing that can arouse men. Western women have a principle: 'Our beautiful body is a gift, why must we hide it?' Combining these two paradigms will result in a contradiction. Thus, if we analyse it further, the occurrence of cool hijabers phenomenon is the result of western clothing culture infiltrating the young generation of Muslim." (Al-Ghifari, 2007: 17).

Other than Al-Ghifari's works, the issue of 'moral panics' among Muslim youth is also featured in Salafi's magazine named *ElFata.* This magazine always features popular themes, such as Valentine Day and similar antics like dating etc., accompanied with Al-Quran and hadiths references as well as Salafi scholar's opinions. Unlike Tarbiyah's *Annida*, *Elfata* never features cover boys and cover girls. The covers of *Elfata* always use illustrations except for living beings, as they believe that illustrating living beings is prohibited.

The Motivational Genre of Salafi and Its Influence to Other Islamic Literatures

One of the popular books consumed by Indonesian readers is the translation of *La Tahzan* (*Don't be Sad*), a book written by Aidh al-Qarni who is a Salafi haraki. Having been translated into 29 languages, this book was first published in Bahasa Indonesia by Al-Qisthi Press in 2003 and 150,000 copies were sold in 2006. In 2008, the translated book were sold for 500,000 copies and had to be reprinted 18 times (Muzakki, 2009). Currently, Aidh al-Qarni's *La Tahzan* has been reprinted for 64 times.

The success of Aidh al-Qarni's work in Indonesian book market was also followed by the translation of many of his works that often discuss

adolescence. One of the Salafi publishers in Solo, AQWAM, has published several Aidh al-Qarni's work that highlights adolescence such as *Selagi Masih Muda: Bagaimana Menjadikan Masa Muda Begitu Bermakna* (2015), *Hitam Putih Cinta: Refleksi Cinta yang Terpuji dan yang Tercela* (2016) and *Kisah-kisah Inspiratif* (2016).

The popularity of Aidh al-Qarni's *La Tahzan* in turn inspires and encourages many Indonesian young writers, whether from those who are affiliated to Tarbiyah and others, to produce motivational books with *La Tahzan* as its title. One of the authors who start this trend is Asma Nadia with her *La Tahzan* series such as *La Tahzan for Hijabers, La Tahzan for Jomblo* and *La Tahzan for Broken Hearted Muslimah.* In addition, several Indonesian young writers also appropriate similar tones with motivational titles like Ahmad Rifan's *Man Shabara Zhafira: Success in Life with Persistence*.

Conclusions

This chapter has shown a shift in Islamic literatures in Indonesia from the translated version of Islamist thinkers such as Sayyid Qutb, Hasan Al-Banna, Al-Maududi, Ali Syariati, Taqiyyudin An-Nabhani, to works that appropriate those Islamist ideas into new contexts relatable to the Indonesian society. If in the 80s and 90s Islamic literatures that attracted Muslim youth were ideologically-toned and filled to the brim with jargons like "Islam is the solution" and others, then Islamic literatures that currently attract millennials are books of motivation, self-help and 'story-telling' genres presented in the forms of novel, popular writing, and comic. Moreover, the packaging and aesthetic of the books are more attractive and filled with illustrations, making them popular among millennial Muslims.

In case of Tahriri literature, Taqiyyudin An-Nabhani and Abdul Qadir Zallum's works are appropriated by a prolific author and popular ustads who are affiliated to Hizbut Tahrir: Felix Siauw. Felix Siauw has succeeded in packaging Hizbut Tahrir's Islamic messages in motivational and self-

help languages. In case of Tarbawi literature, Sayyid Qutb and Hasan Al-Banna's works are appropriated by senior Tarbiyah activists such as Anis Matta, Cahyadi Takariawan, Helvy Tiana Rosa and Asma Nadia. In Addition, Salim A. Fillah is the most popular Tarbawi articulator among Muslim youth nowadays. In case of Salafi literature, Nasiruddin Al-Albani's works are appropirated by Abu Al-Ghifari and writer in *Elfata* magazine.

'Moral panic' is the main theme raised by these new Islamist literatures, such as Valentine's Day and teenage affairs, Muslim clothing, and the ideal image of contemporary Muslim youth. The 'moral panic' discourse is clearly illustrated in books such as Felix Siauw's *Udah Putusin Aja*, *Yuk Berhijab*, *Beyond the Inspiration* and *Muhammad Al-Fatih 1453*. The same is also true in Salim A. Fillah's *Nikmatnya Menikah setelah Pernikahan, Agar Bidadari Cemburu Padamu,* etc. In case of Salafi literature, 'moral panic' also appears in the works of Abu Al-Ghifari, like *Kerudung Gaul: Berhijab Tapi Telanjang*.

In addition, new Islamist literatures also give a different and contesting ideas of the ideal Muslim youth today. Tahriri literature builds a historical narrative of Muhammad Al-Fatih being masculine, heroic, intelligent, pious, and persistent in achieving the ideals of bringing about the victory of Islam through the conquest of Constantinople. Meanwhile, Tarbawi literature constructs the ideal type of *ikhwan* and *akhwat* through fictions, both short stories and novels, and books of motivation and self-development. One of the most popular illustrations of the ideal type of *ikhwan* is the image of Gagah in the short story of Helvy Tiana Rosa entitled "Ketika Mas Gagah Pergi," a young man who refuses to shake hands with women, enjoys listening to nasyid, wearing Islamic clothes, and having beard. The ideal type of Muslim youth posed by Salafi literature is pious, and not Westernised.

The next chapter will elaborate local variants of the new Islamist literatures in Indonesia. These local literatures are generally written by local authors and refer to the works of Felix Siauw, Salim A. Fillah, and others.

In addition, these literatures are also massively circulated among local youth through seminars, book reviews, and mentoring programs.

CHAPTER 6

The Local Dynamics of Islamism Literature

Ahmad Rafiq

The Centre and the Periphery

There are two sides to the spread of Islamism ideology. One the one hand, they intersect with transnational movements and dynamics, in which the ideologies – Jihadi, Salafi, Tahriri and Tarbawi – mostly came from the Middle East. They began spreading in that region through many channels and then moved to local spaces of other regions, including Indonesia. On the other hand, at the same time, when it intersects with new local spaces, the ideologies are adapted and appropriated by their new environment. This process of adaptation and appropriation gave birth to diverse local dynamics (see Reinhard Schulze, 2002). The same also holds true in the case of Islamic literatures diffusion that contains Islamism ideology. On the one hand, it moves Islamism ideology from their birthplace in the Middle East to new and dynamic spaces. On the other, the emerging Islamic literatures

respond to local problems by framing them in Islamism ideology.

The local dynamic of Islamism literature, which will be explained in this chapter, also transmits and transforms Islamism ideology from the Middle Easter movements as their centreto the ”peripheral” area populated by the majority of Muslim people in the world. Knowledge of the centre, in this case, provides the context for the birthplace of those ideologies, such as Tarbiyah within Muslim Brotherhood movement in Egypt, Tahriri with the Palestinian Resistance, and Salafi which is a child of the Wahabism expansion in Saudi. When an ideology that is supposed to be limited within its own context experiences canonisation, it will become a new orthodoxy within its own ideological movement. Within different timelines and methods, as has been explained in the previous chapter, those ideologies are brought into new ”peripheral” spaces (See Richard W. Bulliet, 1994). The periphery as a unit of analysis does not necessarily refer to a geographical space; rather, it is a discursive space related to its micro-history. This space allows a connection between Islamism discourse in different locales with the transnational ideology in each locality.

In the context of ideological and literary diffusion, Indonesia can be said as the periphery of the Middle East, the birthplace of those ideologies. In the Indonesian national context, several cities became the centres for the diffusion of Islamism ideology, such as Bandung, Bogor, Solo and Yogyakarta. Looking at the dominating dynamic of Javanese cities in Indonesian history since colonial times, those cities were transformed into new centers in the national context, and perhaps regional. It is in those cities that Islamism literature was born and widely transmitted and appropriated by many locales in Indonesia. Examples include Salafi literatures that are produced in Solo and Bogor, Tahriri literatures in Jakarta, Bandung and Bogor, then Tarbiyah literatures in Jakarta and Yogya. Regarding the first centre, Islamism literature in these cities provide genre and theme articulation unique to Indonesia despite having a similar discursive frame.

For example, Tahriri ideology is dynamically articulated in Felix Siauw's novels and cartoons of al-Fatih without necessarily copying Taqiyyudin al-Nabhani's thoughts. Another example, Hasan al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb's ideas became self-help motivational books in the hand of Salim A. Fillah.

The voracious consumption of the centres' literatures in national level is not always aligned within each locality in Indonesia as the secondary periphery. As in the case of the dynamics between transnational and national works, each locality also conducts its own adaptation and appropriation of different Islamism literature in the two centers – the Middle East as the centre in the global level, and Java as the centre in national level. Furthermore, local Islamism literature in remote areas also have a more dynamic room for acceleration due to the diverse source of a new orthodoxy, but also limted by its local context and audience. Within the limitation of local geographical space, local Islamism literature in Indonesia respond to literatures of similar ideology in national level. In practice, some of the literatures were born earlier than the national counterparts. Some literatures that came afterward are able to respond directly to transnational Islamism ideological literatures – thus bypassing national literatures. At the same time, local literatures can also tell very specific stories about and within local spaces, although still on the basis of the same Islamism ideology.

Next, this chapter will focus to map the local dynamics of Islamism literature by emphasising the contents and texts that use non-Java localities as a foundation to conduct content analyses – not simply a map of geographical space. In order to fill in on that explanation, this chapter will begin by explaining the case for Islamism ideology diffusion within local spaces that became a context to explain how localities added a color on existing literary genres. Those genres will be the basis for explaining the map of Islamism literature in Indonesia's locales by taking several local Islamism literature so as to make a typology out of them.

The Micro-History of the Emergence of Islamism Literature and Discourse in the Periphery

On the 5th of December 2017, a topic went viral on the social media, which was reported by the local media and the Ministry of Religion gave a response in just a few days. The topic in question was about the Final Exam of a Madrasah Aliyah (MA) in South Kalimantan that contained a question about caliphate. Fiqh curriculum of twelfth-grade MA does actually contain a material on fiqh siyasah (political fiqh), in which one of the points of discussion is about caliphate.[20]

The topic became a trending topic because it came about during the momentum of the legislation of the Government Regulation in lieu of Law No. 2 Yr. 207 that replaces Law No. 17 Yr. 2013 about Mass Organisations, which was made to target the religious mass organisation of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) that promotes the caliphate idea. The diffusion of this idea, in which caliphate is defined as a system of governance to replace the existing system, is simply thought by the government and some civil activists in Indonesia as a threat to the existence of the Republic of Indonesia. The caliphate theme is actually not a new one within the discourse of fiqh siyasah. However, making it as an ideology for a social movement in the form of a mass organisation has elevated it from an Islamic narrative, which is an Islamic teaching for religious life, into an Islamism narrative, which sees Islam as a complete system that has arrangement for everything, including the political system.

The caliphate final exam marks the emergence of Islamism narratives in the education space of Indonesia's peripheries. This narrative does not emerge in a blank space. The curriculum, teachers, and supporting literatures also facilitate the emergence of this narrative within the school ground. The fiqh curriculum of twelfth-grade MA by the Ministry of Religion does actually contain a theme about caliphate. Based on the theme, the Fiqh Teachers'

20 See the curriculum document of FIQIH MA XII.

Meeting of South Kalimantan created a team to draft their provincial final exam. Before finally being withdrawn and remade, the questions in the exam were made intentionally by several teachers. However, the question on whether that intentional decision reflects a systematic movement of Tahriri activists will not be discussed in this book. What we are going to discuss is the exam content that can be indicated as a certain ideological lingo.

The 12 questions on caliphate (question no. 1-12) are general and quite normative. However, the influence of Tahriri ideology can be captured based on the issue, diction, and the multiple choices, despite the fact that the normative concept asked in the question does actually exist in fiqh literature since the early day of Islam. For example, question no. 1 about the etymological concept of "*siyasah syar'iyyah*" and question no. 2 about "*khalifah*" can be understood as a normative question. Still within a normative perimeter, question no. 3 about "the law of establishing caliphate system for Islam majority (mu'tabar)" has a multiple answer of: mandatory, fardhu'ain, fardhu kifayah, sunnah muakkadah and mubah. This question refers to the scholarly opinion in a certain period, but was used to direct students into the single legal idea that is actually still being debated by many scholars today.

As has been explained in the previous chapter, the emergence of this discourse did not come about by itself. It is in fact inseparable from the emergence and availability of references whether within or outside of the Islamic education curriculum in MA or high schoosl and universities in the research location. The emergence of bookstores, whether the ideological-segmented ones such as al-Azhar bookstore in Banjarmasin that sells Tahriri books or Cahaya Sunnah bookstore that displays Salafi books in Pekanbaru; or even general national bookstores, such as Gramedia, that provide a variety of Islamism books, has given access to Islamism literature for the locals.

The different level of availability, display, and facility in each city relatively influences the availability and access of Islamism literature in local spaces. Segmented bookstores are usually at a local level, although they do have a relation with the national network of book publishers. Their visitors are mostly people with ideological affinity. Meanwhile, general bookstores of national level usually provide more diverse Islamism literature. Every book from different genres and ideologies, whether Islamism or not, is displayed on "Islam" bookshelves. Such a model of displaying books allows Islamism literature to be accessed by more readers in general. Despite that fact, national bookstores often only provide national-level literatures, including Islamist literatures from national authors. The availability of literatures is mostly decided by its supply and demand.

Meanwhile, some local authors must find their own segmentation and space. Some local bookstores, segmented or otherwise, sometimes also act as publishers of local authors, such as Zanafa Bookstore in Pekanbaru, Murni Bookstore in Banjarmasin, Zukzez Publisher that collaborates with Riyadh Bookstore in Banjarbaru, Banjarmasin. At the same time, many local authors also market their own books locally but publish their books outside, especially in Java. Books by Akin and Abay in Banjarmasin are published in Yogyakarta; books by Maharani Yas in Pekanbaru are published in Bojonegoro, and; books by Rio Hafandi in Padang are published in Jakarta. Some other authors printed and published their own books, such as Ustadz Abdul Latif Khan's books that were published by Yayasan Rakyat Mandiri (YARMAN) in Medan.

Similar to nationally published books, locally published books are also diverse in term of ideological contents. For example, in the local context of Banjarmasin, Murni Publisher in Banjarmasin only publishes local scholars' works of *turats* Islam genre – they do not publish any Islamism literature. In contrast, Anomali publisher in Yogyakarta published local authors'

works with Tahriri affiliation, whether explicitly or not.[21] This is different from Zukzes publisher that provides local authors from many different genres and ideologies. By using TB Riyaadh as their display, Zukzez sells works made by Tarbiyah activists such as Selvia Stiphanie et al. and Tahriri Sympathisers such as Lisa Mara Pepe, but also publishes textbooks to read and memorise Al-Quran that have no ideological content whatsoever. Without completely following the national trend that is dominated by popular Islamism literature – such as Felix Siawu and Salim A. FIllah's works – the local dynamics of Islamism literature is rather more diverse, not only in terms of genres, but also the use of local setting in its writing.

Genres and Locality of Islamism Literatures

In general, local Islamism literature are not much different from similar literatures circulated nationally in Indonesian high schools and universities. In addition to popular Islamism literature, there are also personal development books, which include self-help or tutorial books. What makes them different is the use of geographical setting. The existence of local elements can be used to differentiate two types of Islamism literature in the local space in Indonesia:

1. Popular Islamism Literatures in the Forms of Novel, Short Story, or Prose Poetry

With regard to this genre, local setting is widely used, especially for novel and short stories, by referring to some places, whether buildings or names of regions, that readers can relate to. The novel *Jodohku Dalam Proposal: Jalan Cinta Seorang Murabbi* (*My Soulmate in a Proposal: The Murabbi's Way of Love*/2016) by Nafi'ah al-Ma'rab (Sugiarti) was published in Solo, but is also circulated in Pekanbaru and around the city. A student of Riau University

21 A discussion on explicit and implicit messages of Islamism ideology in local literature will be explained in a later part of this chapter.

with background of activist of Forum of Lingkar Pena uses locations in Riau, such as Bengkalis District and Riau Islands, other than Pekanbaru city in order to depict the mobility and lifestyle of the characters in her story. Geographically speaking, the physical distance between those locations are separated by sea and strait requires a tiring trip, thus it can be used by the author to build a setting and imagination that readers in Riau can relate to in terms of the struggle of dakwah. The diction “Murabbi” in the title explicitly states her affiliation to Tarbiyah movement and its ideology. The author explicitly explains the struggle of dakwah in universities in general, especially the challenges resulted by sharia law on the relationship between men and women in a campus, which most teenagers can relate to.

The prologue of this novel begins in an “Islamic” setting of a campus mosque library during an LDK activity. It tells a story about the power of Islamic college student missionaries in keeping up a distance to the opposite sex until finally they reach a marriage. A similar plot can be found in other romance novels, like the plot of friendship turning into love, an unrequited love, and the existence of a third person. The spirit of Islamism can be found in this novel in its emphasis on a diametrical opposition between good and bad. When Lara, the female protagonist of this novel, scolded her only sister, Vita, because she was dating someone, Lara said:

> “…all this time I have told other people to avoid dating, but it turns out my own sister is doing it herself. You have deceived your own sister. Don’t you realise it Vita, you are wearing a veil, you are different from other women. You were taught in Islam so you will not do misdeeds. You have also told other people to not go dating, don’t you realise it, Vit. (h.13)” “…you have a bright future here, you have a role and responsibility in campus da’wah. Do you want to sacrifice all of it for a man who has strayed away from religious teaching? (14)” “You can’t mix the good with the bad. You have to choose one! Your sister and the organisation, or that man?”

Then a pious Murabbi enters the scene. A strong *akhwat* will maintain the religion despite her love to a man. Similar to the Islamism's belief on an Islamic victory at the end of the battle, this novel concludes with the female protagonist's victory in love: Lara and Fakhri, the man of her life, despite an arduous journey. This ideological principle is strongly emphasised throughout the novel, that people who comply with Islamic rules on the relationship between men and women, especially about the prohibition of premarital relationship, showing part of bodies, or even talking through letters and short messages, will find happiness in the end. All of those stories were told in a local setting around Riau province that local readers can relate to.

A similar usage of local setting can also be found in Neng Alfy Yulia's novel, *Wajah-Wajah Perindu Surga I* (2016). Published by Club Menulis IAIN Pontianak and STAIN Pontianak Press, the novel employs a similar plotline as the above novel, also in its telling about the experience and struggle of teenagers in keeping a *syar'i* relationship in the face of modern promiscuity. The novel uses Pontianak city as its urban setting in order to depict a struggle to live in an Islamic way, and Singkawang city to depict the mobility and the bond between local wisdom and Islamic life. The mentioning of those cities help local readers to relate with the experience of the character.

There is also Selvia Stiphanie et al.'s collection of short stories titled *Mencintai dalam Diam* (2017). There are 26 short stories in that book, written by local authors from many parts of Indonesia from Aceh to Bali and Nusa Tenggara. It was published and distributed by Dreamedia publisher in Banjarbaru, South Kalimantan. Despite being written by authors from many parts of Indonesia, the circulation of this literature is still limited in the local level, especially in Banjarmasin and its vicinity. By using very relatable Tarbiyah messages, most of the short stories also use each own local settings, be it names of the city, school, or university. Despite

having a diverse plotline, the usage pattern of the contexts is mostly similar: first, they mention a big city, such as capital city of a province as the place in which Islamic way is difficult to implement, and then they mention a name of a region, district or village, as the migrating goal (hijrah) as well as showing the character's mobility and the ideal mix between culture and religion. Silvia Stephanie also wrote her own short story collection titled *Martabak Cerpen* (2014) through the same publisher with an almost similar plot and setting.

Unlike novels and short stories, local literatures in the forms of prose poetry mostly do not use local settings. Prose poetry is a type of writing that uses certain story-telling techniques as in a regular prose but expressed in poetic expressions such as rhythmic and rhyming dictions. Such literature can be found in *Renungan dari Mihrab Raya: Kumpulan Tausiyah Ustadz Abdul Latif Khan di Facebook Lengkap dengan Catatan dan Kometar para Facebooker* (2010) published by Yayasan Rakyat Mandiri (YARMAN) Medan. This book consists of two parts and the prose poetry model can only be found in the first part, which contains the author's contemplation on many things. This book was written and circulated in a limited ideological environment that the author is affiliated to, that is Tarbiyah, because the second part, which is an essay, is much more similar to the second form of local literature, i.e. notes for missionaries.

By using different settings, Islamism literature in this genre uses a pretty much similar plotline, i.e. the challenge, for the lack of better word – of today's young generation in implementing an Islamic life. Therefore, they need a dakwah community that can consistently keep each other and remind them to continue doing good deeds. The dakwah message is expressed more explicitly in the second type of literature, which concerns personal development.

2. Popular Islamism Literatures: Personal Development (Self-Help and Tutorial Books)

This type of literature mostly does not use local settings. The attempt to be relevant for its readers is achieved by using themes relatable to the everyday experience of the readers. The book's content itself looks similar to most popular Islamism literature in national level. Two books titled *Al-Qandas al-Kamil: Kegagalan yang sempurna* (2010) and *Winneto la Mimfito: Kesempurnaan Mimpi* (2011) written by "Trias Motivatica" Akin, are motivational books packaged in dialogues and short notes similar to Felix Siauw's works. The books were published by a Yogyakarta-based publisher. While they appear to have different themes, the two books in general has similar contents.[22] Tahriri ideology is explicitly expressed in the second literature, albeit in the context of giving motivation.

The second part of *Renungan dari Mihrab Raya* (2010), as has been explained previously, is also written in a form of essay filled to the brim with Tarbiyah ideology. However, unlike Akin's book that attempts to target general audience, Abdul Lathif Khan's book feels more like an internal consolidation for Tarbiyah activists. In several parts of this book, he emphasises the importance of being in a community, together in dakwah (38, 43, 122, 154). This book is actually made of Facebook notes that the author printed into a book, while still retaining its Facebook comments.

In addition to motivational books, other popular works in local level is tutorial books (how to). *Menjadi Princess tanpa Mahkota: Sebuah Catatan Hati untuk Remaja Muslimah* (2016) by Maharani Yas is read by some Tarbiyah movement activists in Pekanbaru, even though the book itself was published in Bojonegoro. The content of this book is almost the same as the previously mentioned Tarbiyah novel and short stories, although it is packaged in short questions and answers, detailing the step by step that readers can do. The book also combines motivational and tutorial genre:

22 Explanation of the content will be provided later.

> "Embrace yourself for we are in war," wrote Maharani in one of her chapters "Why? because a corrupt female Muslim will influence others, her child and husband or, in other words, her entire family… When women have been deceived in a war of ideals, then it can be guaranteed that the state is also the same! Let alone the fact that women are the first madrasah (education). Imagine if this first madrasah has been contaminated in the war of ideals, what will become of her ideals? [Let's think.]." (35)

Maharani Yas' questions and instructions are then followed by a Quranic verse from Al-Baqarah 120 which she believed as an affirmation of the inherent hatred of the Jews and Christians to Muslims, which they want everybody to follow their ways. The pattern of quoting Quranic verses in Islamism books can be found in many other books of similar type, which will be explained more in detail in the later part of this chapter.

In Banjarmasin, there are two types of tutorial books despite the similar goals. The first book *Gue Farmasis Muda* (2013, 2014) by Berly Suryadharma S. Farm, Apt. was published by the local publisher Zukzez. The book has been reprinted two times. It combines autobiography, motivation, and tutorial. The key message of the book is simple: be a useful pharmacist. "You don't need a GPA of 3 to be useful in the society; you don't even need to be adept in pharmacology. The most important thing is to work with all of your heart and you will find yourself a true pharmacist," is written in its cover page. In the telling of the author's experience in studying, applying for jobs, up to getting jobs, the Islamism messages are not too explicit, except in several parts about the intention, prohibition of falling in love (read: dating) except to parents, and to being grateful. On those parts, the author, who called himself Mimin throughout the book, directly quotes Quranic verses or hadiths using the same pattern as in Maharani Yas' book.

Another example of tutorial book is *Gaul ala Rasul: Sebuah Catatan Harian Pelajar Muslim* by Muhammad Rizqi Raharja, a student in an

Islamic university in Banjarmasin. The book was published by a veteran Islamic publisher in national level, Gema Insani Press. The book was indeed distributed to many places, but due to the author's origin in Banjarmasin, it is more discussed in Banjarmasin. This tutorial and motivational book discusses practical themes faced by youth, which includes falling in love, dating, attitude to others, food, drink, clothing, and other youth-related things such as valentine day and cheating in school. Despite having a background as a student in Tarbiyah pesantren, the author does not specifically use Tarbiyah's diction such as dakwah, halaqah, liqa etc. in order to deliver his messages and conclusions on simple problems. By using Quranic verses and hadiths directly, and secondary sources in most of its references, the author gives simple and practical statements in relation to the threats from non-Islam to everyday life. In Tarbiyah, this type of writing is referred to as *gazwul-fikr* (war of ideals).

Its similarities in content, writing technique, and method of referencing to that of local Islamism literature will be followed by an explanation on the pattern of adaptation and appropriation.

Islamic Reformation, Purification, and Ideological Appropriation

As has been explained in the previous chapter, there are two fundamental ideas consistently found within local Islamism literature, whether those in the form of novel, short story or self-help book. *First*, there is always an attempt to connect the issues discussed in the book with a wider global phenomenon, despite the fact that the discussed issue is a local phenomenon. *Secondly*, there is always an attempt to build a diametrical position against something, whether a social phenomenon, culture, movement, or individual/group idea. Regarding the two, each local Islamism literature can be categorised as an Islamic reformation literature with two branching categories: purification and ideological appropriation.

1. Islamic Reformation and Religious Purification

The term reformation in this chapter refers to the generic and historic definition of reformation in religious studies, that is returning to the source of a religion. In the context of Islam, reformation refers to the source of teaching which is represented by Al-Quran and Sunnah. The jargon *al-ruju' ilal-kitab was-sunnah* has been responsible for the fierce debate among Muslim scholars since the middle age. In Indonesia's Islamic discourses, this jargon has been widely discussed since the 19th century by referring to the rejuvenation of Islam in a mosque sponsored by Muhammad Abduh and Rasyid Ridha. The principle of this movement is that every problem in Islam at any time should be able to be referred directly to the main sources of Islamic teaching, namely Al-Quran and Sunnah. Intermediary sources of information, such as turats book, should not be used to explain problems in different eras.

In some cases, Islamic reformation intersects with religious purification movements. The term purification also refers to the normative and historic definition in the context of Islam in Indonesia. Normatively speaking, purification can be interpreted as purifying religion from things unrelated with it. In the history of Islam in Indonesia, the term is often used to clean Islam from the influence of non-Islamic thoughts and practices, which include ancestor's religion or local wisdom. Similar to reformation, purification as the continuation of Islamic reformation in Indonesia cannot be separated from similar political movements in the global level, such as the diffusion of rational thoughts from Ibn Taymiyah and Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab.

Motivational or tutorial books at local level often use the setting of religious reformation (returning to the source), by quoting Quranic verses and hadiths. Sometimes, but not always, reformation will be followed by purification. In the case of reformation without purification, Quranic verses and hadiths are understood in a simple manner and merely inserted into the

new reality as a so-called Islamic solution to the chaotic world. However, in the case of reformation with purification, which means returning to Al-Quran and Sunnah, it names and shames the wrong religious practices today by making orthodox statements on how Al-Quran and hadiths and the first generation is the only ideal that must be strived for.

The book *Syariat Cinta: Panduan Praktis Pra Nikah* (2017) by Abuya Nanang Zakaria in Pontianak is the very representation of reformation model. This book can be considered as a tutorial book, which contains a short guide on how to manage the relation between men and women if love is involved and sin is to be avoided. The guide explains each step of relationship from how to introduce each other to marriage and sexual relationship. In one part, Abuya Nanang Zakaria quotes A'idh al-Qarni (a Salafi Haraki figure)'s statement. He called al-Qarni as his source of inspiration to start a marriage, although the book as a whole does not explicitly lead to al-Qarni's ideals.

> "I got married right on Friday, 10 Syawwal 1429 H coinciding with 10th October 2008. At that time, I was married with only La Tahzan book and Rp 50,000 as the dowry and my monthly salary was only Rp 175,000. Who'd dare to marry in such a condition? But we believe that if a marriage is built upon faith, every problem will only increase our romance… And if love is built upon dakwah then every obstacle will be easier. Thus, do marry because of Allah, believe in His promise for He is the Guarantor of everything."

In several parts, the author uses a diction commonly used by Tarbiyah, with the diction murabbi being used to find an Islamic soulmate or murabbiyah for a woman that can be an intermediary or accompany the woman to not *khalwat* during *ta'aruf* process (65). In general, the nuance of Islamism began from moral panic and everyday life as a battleground between good and evil, *gazwul-fikri*. This book is basically a practical guidance to win that war. Abuya uses Quranic verses and hadiths simply

to justify every tip, such as a tip for clothing, for asking permission, and for lowering your gaze (21-23) in order to identify the moral destruction within men and women's relationship in the age of ignorance. For example, Abuya mentions Jumhur's opinion on the prohibition of masturbation – since it is one of the forms of sexual deviation and can even cause one" (24) – by referring to QS Al-Mukminun 5-6, but without explicitly mentioning his source of information and further elaboration. Since he believes that the problem has been solved in the time of the Prophet by using information provided in Al-Quran and Sunnah, thus the solution to it is simply by returning to Al-Quran and Sunnah.

A similar pattern can also be found in other literature with same genre, *Gaul ala Rasul* by Rizqu Raharja. Regarding tattoos, for example, the author states:

> "Socially speaking, people who tattooed their body will be treated as criminals, thugs, etc. since tattoos have always been associated with such kinds of people. In one of his hadiths, the Prophet has said 'bribed persons and those who bribe them, their witnesses and their clerks if they knew about the bribery, tattooed persons and their tattooist for aesthetics, those who are late to pay zakat, and those who stray from the religion, as in the case of an Arab Badui person who went for a hijrah, (all of them) are condemned by Muhammad (HR. Ahmad, Abu Ya'la, Ibnu Hibban, and Inu KHuzaimah)'" (115).

If Rizky can elaborate further on everyday problem within the context of war of ideals, the theme of religious reformation can be found more elaborated in Tahriri local literature such as in books made by Akin the Trias Motivatica. In his first book, *Al-Qandas Al-Kamil: Kegagalan yang Sempurna* (2010), Akin (Dr. Fauzan Mutaqqin), does not explicitly express his affiliation to Tahriri ideology, but the religious reformist affiliation is more apparent. *Al Qandas Al Kamill* is a slang from Bahasa Indonesia (Kandas/Failure) and Arabic (Kamil/Perfect). His personal description

at the end of the book mentions him as a person who always resists the temptation of wealthiness. He was a Rohis activist in a favorite school in Banjarmasin, and he finished his undergraduate study in the ULM's Medical Faculty. In addition to being a medical doctor, Akin is also known as an Islamic motivator. A number of Rohis activists in this research also recognise him as a Tahriri motivator, although his book does not mention any diction or specific statement that may associate Akin with that group. The book's structure itself consists of several chapters filled with short statements.

This book is categorised as a self-help book. By using a more conversational diction and personal writing that does not shy away from the use of slang, this book is more oriented to prepare its reader in facing potential failures in life. In fact, this book affirms failures as an absolute part in the process of achieving something, and a failure itself is in fact the main achievement, rather than the achieved goal in the end. The choice of language and diction that seems to be nuanced with a rebellious theme, seems intentionally used to arouse its readers in accepting failures as certainties, just like how this book's chaotic attempt at delivering messages that can still be enjoyed.

> "Now now. Someone might ask you somethin' like this, 'When will we stop being a failure?' Then you probably can already answer, 'There is no end to failure.' Then they might also ask, 'Why not?' In that case, you should proudly answer, 'Because I'm a Muslim, and I have been told by Allah to be like that.' If possible, you should complete that statement. My Ustadz gave me a tip. The statement is included in QS Al-Insyirah 7, it is the continuation of previous verse that we have already discussed. *Thus, if you have completed (a problem), go on and work hard on the next (problem).*"

Last question they might asked, "If that's the case, when will we enjoy life?" Hold dearly to this answer, "Well actually we have already enjoyed

life since the very beginning. Because we are dealing with problems after problems, keep on struggling with the best effort, that is the true essence of life. Even if some time later in life we manage to achieve our goal, it is merely a dessert of our struggle." (89-90).

The whole book is just an interpretation of QS Al-Insyirah 7. By using motivational and bombastic statements, Akin wrote his second book *Winnite la Mimfito: Kemenangan Mimpi* (Trias Motivatica series 2, 2011). The title is again a slang from English and Bahasa Indonesia, Winneto from Win of English and Mimfito from *Mimpi* (Dream) in Bahasa Indonesia. The title can be said in an Italian accent and supposedly it is used to arouse its readers in achieving the ideological 'dream' of conquering Constantinople, Eastern Rome in the 15th Century. This book is the second part of Akin's Trias Motivatica series that consists of two books, rather than three. By using the same genre of self-help, Tahriri Islamist messages are delivered more explicitly in this book. If the first book, *Al-Qandas al-Kamil,* is elaborating more on failures as the drive to keep on going, this book is more elaborating on the fact that failures are only a small part in achieving a bigger and more holistic goal.

In the first book, Akin only mentions Al-Quran and hadiths as foundation to understanding something (10), without elaborating more on what he means by "something," except by mentioning the two last verses of QS Al-Insyirah. In the second book, Akin specifically mentions the number of Quranic verses and hadiths that he uses to deliver his messages. Those messages are said to be a dream that must be achieved.

> "Thus I can finally understand the great imagination that came from the Prophet's friends. 'I saw that heaven, My Prophet' was said during a war. When the friend previously asked, what will Allah give to me if I died in the war, the Prophet gave an answer as if transferring his imagination to the questioner, 'It's Heaven!' Thus, he saw the heaven very vividly in his eyes, threw away the kurma in his hand, and launched his horse to

> the battle. In an instant, he died in *syahid* (glory). Instead of getting killed in action, he actually realised his imagination (of reaching the heaven)." (22).

Akin continues his example of the power of imagination by telling a story of how Yasir's family was killed in the hand of the Quraisy people. "'My Prophet, I can finally see the heaven so vividly,' was his last words before his impending death." (23)

In other part of his book, Akin tells about a group of friends who refused the *ghanimah* (spoils of war) after they won the war. They said, "No, My Prophet, (we fought) not for this. We fought for this!" as they point their finger at their neck.

Still using a similar mode of storytelling, Akin's dialogue involves himself as one of the characters in his setting. This setting seems to give a more relatable experience for the readers. As in the case of his first book, Akin pulls some inspirational stories, whether from Islamic world or others, such as stories of The Prophet's war and his friends' mental fortitude, Ottoman empire's warriors, Bill Gates, and even characters from comic books like Naruto and Spongebob. All of those characters are pulled into Akin's contemporary settings, forming the personalities of his characters like Ucup and Ustadz. Even if the book begins by telling some Jihadi-themed quotes, Akin tends to elaborate more on the steps of building dreams that he refers as the faculty of dreams.

Jihadi stories in the beginning of this book arouse the readers to imagine a great dream that Akin wants to be instilled in everyone's mind, which is the Heaven. Akin once again presents Abdullah bin Umar's dialogues with some Tabi'in people, taken straight from the events in the year of 1400s to the contemporary era. As the Tabi'in people expressed their personal dreams, Ibn Umar declared: "*Ana uridul jannah!* I want the Heaven!" (117-118). That is the greatest dream that demands a great sacrifice as well… referring to Rabi'ah Ka'ab al-Islami who said to the Prophet "I want to

accompany you in the Heaven" (119), by using a very simple method of "spending the rest of his life accompanying the prophet in hopes of accompanying him once again in the Heaven." (120).

The contextualisation of Rabi'ah's last statement becomes an entrance for Tahriri ideology in his second book. By using a simple dialogical logic, Akin creates his argument; accompanying the Prophet after he has gone means following his steps; following the Prophet after he has gone means embracing his legacy in Al-Quran and Sunnah; the two legacies are understood as "the road paved by the Prophet, his friends, and the pious people of the past" (122). However, Akin declares that Al-Quran and Sunnah are not merely signs. It must be "manifested in the form of Islamic Sharia" as "the guideline for each time and place." (123). Akin depicts Sharia as a way to achieve the dream in this world as promised by the Prophet "Constantinple can be conquered in the hand of a man. Thus, the best of leaders is he who can conquer it and his army is the best of armies." (139). By introducing a new character called Dede al-Fatih, an Indonesian youth who will repeat the dream of "conquering" Constantinople by winning Islamic sharia (140-141), the reformist approach that will be used is to revive Islamic glory in every aspect of life.

Akin develops all of his arguments by referring to Quranic verses and hadiths, even though Felix Siauw has published a national-level book under a similar theme--*Beyond the Inspiration* (2010) through Khilafah Press, which was reprinted in 2013 by Al-Fatih Press. The first publication of *Beyond the Inspiration* was actually made during the same time as the publication of Akin's first book, *Al-Qandas Al-Kamil*. However, there was no explicit indication of Akin appropriating Felix Siauw's work or other Tahriri sources, except in the Quranic verses and hadiths that he used.

2. Ideological Appropriation

Issues that should be further observed is the lack of appropriation of

Islamism ideology in local level. We observed that the appropriation takes place only in substantial level, without making any explicit statement, by using a reformist approach that refers to the same source of Al-Quran and Hadiths.

Ideological appropriation in local Islamism, which means directly referring and appropriating Islamist thinker's work, can be found in *Renungan dari Mihrab Maya: Kumpulan Tausiyaah Ustadz Abdul Latif Khan di Facebook Lengkap dengan Catatan dan Komentar para Facebooker*. The author of this book is a regional parliament member of the Prosperous Justice Party in Deli Serdang and a member of Sharia Council of North Sumatera. In this book, we can observe such approaches as reformation, purification, and ideological appropriation.

The book consists of two main parts. The first part mostly contains poetical and prosaic expressions that depict the author's contemplation on many events around him, especially in the context of Tarbiyah dakwah movement. The second part, however, consists of essays that highlight the condition of Muslim communities nowadays. The choice of language and diction in this book is very indicative of the author's affiliation to Tarbiyah movement, especially since he confirms it himself in his biography as being activist of the Prosperous Justice Party. Al-Akh, Ikhwah, Tarbiyah, Murabbi, dakwah and dai' are key terms used repeatedly throughout this book. Even though it appears as a technical guideline for internal consolidation, his notes were actually published previously in public spaces, such as on social media and in the book that he distributed in schools and universities through the network of Tarbiyah activists.
Abdul Latif Khan wrote:

> "The (Muslim) community is more comfortable with decrees from their "scholars." This is because a cultural opinion that believes scholars can do now wrong… It is obvious that such belief is unhealthy since the community can be easily blinded

> by their admiration to their scholars. The only truth lies within Al-Quran and Sunnah. The community must be introduced to those sources and no others." (126).

This statement is then followed by several inappropriate Islamic practices in the society. Abdul Latif Khan did not stop at the reformist approach to return to Al-Quran and Sunnah; he also made an assessment in order to purify religious practices within the society. He made an example of "People are getting money without Islamic virtues; entrepreneurs don't use Islamic messages in their businesses (127)" "In defense of mazhab and mass organisation's interest (137)" as the target and goals of dakwah.

Throughout his writing, ideological appropriation is very apparent. In fact, in several parts, the author directly refers to Hasan al-Banna. The author interprets Hasan al-Banna's thoughts into technical statements to build a Tarbiyah dakwah movement. Unlike popular Islamism literature that appropriates Islamism ideology into terms more relatable to the millennials, such as the case of Felix Siauw's novel and books or Salim A. Fillah's motivational books, Abdul Latif Khan employs a more serious essay to appropriate Islamism ideology, especially Muslim Brotherhood's Tarbiyah ideology, by making diametrical statements on the condition of Indonesian Muslim community and contextualising it with Muslim Brotherhood's ideals. Abdul Latif Khan even includes Sayyid Qutb's statement in his contemplation.

> "Before getting hanged, Sayyid Qutb said to a cleric 'I became like this because I keep my belief that there is no God but Allah, while you there, you have sold your belief.' The lesson of tauhid… a lesson to realise that we are His servants, a lesson to realise that He is the owner of this universe… When the lesson has been planted within, the believers will see how despicable this world is…" (44).

In this spirit, he wrote a lengthy essay about Shahwah Islamiyah (Revival of Islam). For him, Indonesia exists and will only exist under a Shahwah Islamiyah of three *marhalahs*. *First*, the marhalah of *qital wa siyasah*, which was the age of war and politics to the beginning of the new order. *Second*, the marhalah of *fikr* in the 70s that opened up a space for Indonesian Muslims to fight against the peculiar ideas of the West. However, it actually aroused Indonesian Muslim scholars to return to *Manhaj Salafi*, and it is still in the process. Lastly is the marhalah of *al-mal*, the phase of missionary missions (160-165). In this third phase, Abdul Latif once again affirmed a diametrical position in understanding religious phenomenon. "The position of Muslim community is divided into two big groups: one group who believes in modernism under exception, and the second group who selectively accepts modern development and affirmatively place their *fikroh* principle of Manhaj Salafi" (165).

Conclusions

Substantially speaking, the dynamics of local Islamism literature is dominated by Tahriri and Tarbiyah ideologies. However, we can still find a cross between the two ideologies in those literatures. In case of Akin's work, *winneto la Mimfeto*, Jihadi ideology actually appears in the beginning with the usage of Quranic verses, hadiths, and the history of the Prophet and his friends. There is no further confirmation on whether he accepts or refuses those ideologies, but the Jihadi ideology can be understood as a way to rebuild the reader's mind after his first book about failures – that people must keep on struggling until the last blood is dropped, because the biggest dream lies in the aftermath, in the heaven after death.

In case of Nanang Zakariya's *Panduan Pra-Nikah* and Abdul Latif Khan's *Renungan dari Mihrab Raya*, a cross between Tarbiyah and Salafi ideologies can also be found in the spirit of reforming and purifying Islam. Abdul Latif Khan even uses the term "Manhaj Salafi" to refer to an ideal

manhaj, as he appropriates Tarbiyah ideology from Muslim Brotherhood.

The polarisation between popular Islamism that uses novels and short stories, along with other popular Islamism literature that employ the self-help genre, shows a sensitivity to local issues and contexts. Within the first form, local authors interpret Islamism ideology in the context of local setting, even though the plotline itself is very similar to other more popular genres. Meanwhile, motivational and tutorial books appear to pull their audience into global issues in regard of Islam and humanity in the context of Islamism. This is relatively able to influence the reader's acceptance to local literatures, even though a simple survey in the beginning of this research shows that the level of acceptance is smaller than to national literatures. Local Islamism literature are consumed more by students who are affiliated to the author's ideology.

The acceptance of young readers from high school and university to these literatures is more on oral or aural level, that is during book discussions or launching events, as explained in Chapter 4. Thus, authors' personalities are more recognisable to the readers compared to their books. This reality creates a contestation between Islamism literature and other literatures that counter Islamism ideology, whether through literature production or discussion forums surrounding the works.

CHAPTER 7

The Flakes of Alternative Narratives

Ibnu Burdah

Introduction

The explanations in previous chapters of this book shows that despite the widespread influence of Islamism ideology among students, the force of rejection to Islamism ideology, whether inside or outside a class, is actually quite strong. This gives a hope for the future of moderate Islam in the plural Indonesian society. This chapter will strengthen that conclusion by elaborating more on Islamic literatures that contain an alternative to Islamism.

The explanation in this chapter will show that moderate Muslim communites do not stay silent and, in fact, have made important steps to deal with Islamism books in order to preserve the moderate nature of Indonesian Islam that can coexist with local cultures, remain loyal to the Republic of Indonesia, uphold democracy and other progressive values, and

is able to accept the reality of diversity.

Similar to previous chapters, this chapter will argue that, despite the widespread influence of Islamism literature, texts of moderate Islam do still exist and have developed a lot. Furthermore, Indonesian Muslims have also given strong responses against the pressure of Islamism ideology through the production of Islamic literatures. Therefore, Islamic books on the alternative to Islamism have also developed even though, on several levels, they are still unable to compete with popular Islamism books which are subtler in their ideological thrust. The explanation in this chapter will be focused more on the attempt to map and list alternative Islamic literatures based on the flakes of reports from a number of cities in Indonesia.

The source of this chapter is, once again, taken from "flakes" of reports in the 16 cities of Indonesia. Thet are called report flakes in this book because the research focused on Islamism literature, whether inside or outside classroom, that is available, consumed and produced. Alternative books were not the focus of this research which explains why the reports of those regions did not specifically pay attention to them. Still, data "flakes" from such books had to be collected from within those lengthy reports.

Despite not being the main focus in this research project, a discussion about alternative literatures (outside Islamism) is important so as to assess the potential and future of moderate Islam in Indonesia. The discussion about this type of Islamic literatures is also important since the threat of radicalism, although it has gotten smaller according to the research, has never ended and will always shadow our young generations who are vulnerable to those ideologies. Therefore, the radicalism threat can always resurface any time in the new environment created by information media.

Burying Islamism in Classroom

In general, intra-curricular Islamic education books in high schools and universities are almost devoid of Islamism ideology. High school books

in general explicitly contain strong counter-narratives against Islamism by emphasising moderate and progressive Islam, strengthening commitment to the Republic of Indonesia, and promoting ideas that accept the diversity of ethnicity or religion in Indonesia. However, additional textbooks in private Islamic high schools were still found to contain a small percentage of Islamism ideology. One example is the usage of *Kitab Tauhid* by Syaikh Dr. Shalih bin Fauzan bin Abdullah al-Fauzan.

The author of that book is referring to Salafi scholars in Saudi Arabia. Found in a Surabaya private high school as the 27th print, the book was a translation by Agus Hasan Bashori, Lc., of *al-Tawhidi li al-SHaf al-Awwal al-Ali* (Tauhid for tenth-graders), which was revised by Muhammad Yusu Harun, MA. and AInul Haris Umar Arifin Thayyin, Lc. The book discusses about Salafism/Wahabism doctrines that include *al-wala*' and *al-Bara*' in addition to other topics about tauhid commonly found in Salafism literature (Burdah, 2017; 6-8). An example of the book discussion can be find in the quote below:

> "Fourth: Opinions from Misguided Groups on these Traits as well as Their Rebuttals. These misguided groups include Jahmiyyah, Mu'tazilah and Asy'ariyyah who wronged *ahlus Sunnah wal Jamaah* in terms of Allah's divine traits or by ignoring many of those traits, or even wrongly interpreting them." (Fauzan, nd: 133).

Misguiding other groups in Islam is obviously against the Islamic principle and the diverse environment of Indonesia. In fact, the Muslim community itself consists of many groups and conflicts between groups are quite common, including groups mentioned by Wahabi above. The misguiding by Jahmiyyah and Mu'tazilah, as explained in the quote above, might not directly influence the relation between Islamic groups in Indonesia since there are no groups in Indonesia that consider themselves a Jahmiyyah or Mu'tazilah despite the fact that their teachings *are* explicitly

adopted by Muslim groups in Indonesia. However, the misguiding by Asy'ariyyah is quite different since there are many groups in Indonesia that explicitly adopt Asy'ariyah, including the Nahdlatul Ulama as the most affiliated group by a majority of Indonesian Muslims.

Such a textbook is obviously dangerous for the diversity of Muslim community, including in Indonesia. Below are some quotes from the book that should be contemplated in regards of Indonesia's diversity.

> "The verses above have explicitly explained the obligation to be loyal to the *mukminin* and to hate on the *kafirun*, and that loyalty to Muslim community is a great deed whereas loyalty to the *kafirun* is a great danger. (Fauzan, nd: 147)."
>
> "Among the prohibited things is to congratulate them on their holiday, including taking off work (school), cooking food in regards of their holiday, and even usage of the Gregorian calendar since it celebrates their Christmas day. Therefore, the friends are using the Hijriyah calendar as the replacement (Fauzan, nd: 156)."
>
> "You should not congratulate (*tahniah*) or express condolences (*ta'ziyah*) to them, because it will give *wala'* and *mahabbah* to them. It also means respect for them. Thus such things are prohibited, as in the prohibition of greeting or giving space for them (Fauzan, nd: 157)."

Those quotes and more from the book show that the book is inappropriate for the diversity in Indonesia. The Indonesian society needs a more tolerant Islamic understanding for the sake of the continuation of our nation. The nuance of Salafi in the private high school's textbook is obvious. In addition to that book, our researcher also found an '*ushul fiqh*' book used in that school which is also written by a major Wahabi figure, al-Syekh Muhammad bin Salih al-Utsaimin (1412 H). The book is a textbook for *ushul fiqh* class in Saudi Arabia. Another book found in that school also came from Saudi Arabia: a popular book entitled *al-Arabiyyah li al-Nasyiin*.

Thus it seems that the nuance of "Saudi" Salafi in that textbook is indeed very apparent.

In Bogor, a textbook containing radicalism was also found. The book is used in a private Madrasah Aliyah in the locale. Although not used as the main textbook, it is still important for the students as it is used throughout the local MA network. Through the FGD held with the students, we found that the book is very influential for them (Ulinnuha, 2017: 25). The following is a quote from Aceng Zakaria's *Menguak Hakikat Syahadar dan Baiat Jamaah Muslimin*.

> "A Muslim community should be led by a Khalifah in this world, and if there were two Khalifah, then the Prophet ordered the second one to be killed. Meanwhile, the only leader in Islamic world is the president or king for their own country. Similarly, the community in Islamic world today is only a community or *harakah* that works in missionary affairs, Tarbiyah, and other social works. In other words, only the *shughra* community that consists of small Islamic groups or organisations working to uphold the '*kalimatillah*' on earth that eventually will have a *kubra* community, if God wills it. (Zakaria, 1412 H: 90)."

Published in Bogor and written by local writers, this book is widely distributed into religious and educational institutions in Bogor and its vicinities. The acceptance to this book is very strong among students based on our researcher's interviews and FGD sessions with several studentse. Among the quotes that we recorded are those from students initialed FA and AM; they quoted statements from the book as an obligation to establish the one and only Islamic Caliphate: "The solution is to uphold caliphate. Caliphate is a governance that refers to a centre that is surrounded by ministers, and there is a direct command system from the centre for easier coordination.[23]"

23 The high school FGD was held on Wednesday, 23rd August 2017, at 09:00-12:00, in IPB Baranangsiang, Bogor.

Insofar as this research findings, only few school textbooks, including those two, contain Islamism ideology and get used in Islamic education class, and they are only used as supplements. Furthermore, among the 80 high schools and universities in this research, those were the only books identified as Islamist books for classroom use as supporting materials. In most other schools, intra-curricular textbooks are mostly devoid of Islamism ideology, whether Salafi, Tarbiyah or Tahriri. In public high schools, the main textbook for Islamic education is published by the Ministry of Education and Culture of Indonesia (Kemendikbud RI) titled *Pendidikan Agama Islam dan Budi Pekerti*; this book is supplemented by books published by Erlangga, Yudhistira, Platinum, Srikandi Empat Widya Utama (SEWU) or Bumi Aksra. Of the 50 public high schools in 16 cities, all of them use this book as its main source of teaching. In most private high schools, this book is also a key reference. In accordance with the 2013 curriculum, Islamic Education in high school is aptly titled *Pendidikan Agama Islam dan Budi Pekerti*. The book title probably refers to this fact. Islamic education in general is delivered in three school hours and one session per week. The book itself is quite well-made, both in content and editing work, and is probably the most important alternative high-school literature today. Looking at the pictures employed by this book, the direction and spirit of this book is quite clear, which is upholding the unique aspect of Indonesian Islam. Pictures of people wearing *peci* and sarong shaking hands during Eid Al-Fitr give a vivid idea of the strength of Indonesian Islam. Such celebration is not held in other Muslim countries. The biggest celebration in other Muslim communities in the world, especially in Sunni-dominated countries, is Eid Al-Qurban, not Eid Al-Fitr. In that regard, the book gives this comment:

> "During the Eid Al-Fitr, every Muslim is happily celebrating it. They all show hospitality and forgive each other. The old forgive the young, and the young asks for forgiveness. It is

> such a beautiful view that must be preserved. What is your opinion if such a view can happen all the time? Student activity: observe the event above, then give your opinion from other perspectives, such as from religious, social, and cultural perspective" (Kemendikbud RI, 2017: 184).

In addition to affirming Indonesian Islam, this book also makes an explicit statement to reject radicalism and violence against other religious communities and others. Instead, it persuades readers by using many verses and arguments in order to plant a moderate understanding of Islam and commitment to the nation. Below is an important quote taken from the book.

> "Observe these events! (1) Student gang wars that are quite common nowadays. Those who are directly involved will be victims of physical and non-physical assaults. Some of them are even admitted to juvenile prisons, or expelled from schools. Give your opinion on the impact caused to self and others. (2) Vandalism against places of worship, gang wars between villagers, student demonstrations, and other forms of violent acts are giving a clear picture of the lack of unity and tolerance. What is your opinion about these conditions?" (Kemendikbud RI, 2017: 184).

Despite the lack in terms of affirming gender equality, this book manages to persuade its readers to accept diversity. In the chapter *Tolerance as a Means of Uniting the Nation*, for example, it provides a harsh criticism to the lack of tolerance among religious communities in our society, which can potentially destroy our nation and the importance of accepting this reality as an Indonesian citizen. This can be found in the quote below.

> "Lately, the value of tolerance in our society has been considerably lacking and degrading. The slogan *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) has been degraded in the society. This can be seen from the many religious conflicts in some parts of this country. These religious conflicts can potentially cause disintegration of this nation." (Kemendikbud RI, 2017: 184).

> "Tolerance is very important in our life, whether in our speech or act. In that regards, tolerance means respecting and learning from others, respecting differences, bridging the gap between us to reach a unified attitude. Tolerance is the start of an attitude that accepts difference as something that must be respected and understood – not something wrong, for example the difference between races, ethnicities, religions, traditions, perspectives, attitudes and opinions. Within those differences, human are expected to be tolerant to any difference and try to live in harmony, whether between individuals, between individual and the community, as well as between communities." (Kemendikbud RI, 2017: 185).

The explanation in that book is then followed by an affirmation of tolerance that refers to QS Yunus 41 and a hadiths narrated by al-Tirmidzi, which is interpreted as follows: "The best of friends for Allah are those who treat their brothers and sisters well. And the best of neighbors for Allah are those who treat their neighbors well." (Kemendikbud RI, 2017: 188). This explanation is alco accompanied by stories that show how high Islam upholds and respects other religious communities, even the weakest one. The book then tells a story of a friend of the Prophet, Ali bin Abi Thalib, who really wanted to pray together with the Prophet, but during his trip to the mosque found an old Christian who walked really slow in front of him. He then defeated his desire to pray together with the Prophet and decided to walk slowly behind the old Christian, despite his strong desire to pray together with the Prophet. The book then emphasises how Ali was not an egoist; he prefered to respect the Christian by having to sacrifice his desire. Such behavior is desirable to Allah, according to this book.

In addition to inviting students to criticise violence against different religions, the book also promotes tolerance to be grateful to and accept differences, affirming commitment to Indonesia's values, and promoting a moderate Islam that can coexist with other cultures, as well as providing guidelines to implement those things.

> "Let's contemplate and observe the life in Indonesia. The diverse reality of Indonesia must be preserved for the harmony and peace of its citisens. One way to preserve this diversity is by tolerating or respecting each other. In our society, harmony between tribes, races, and religions must always be preserved and guided. We don't want an Indonesia to be divided by hatred toward each other." (Kemendikbud RI, 2017: 192).

Based on an interview with some vice principals and religion teachers in several cities, the choice of books they made, as a public high school, was indeed based on their compliance to the government as well as driven by a spirit to make sure students "safe" from the potential infiltration of radical religious understanding. Many teachers and officials interviewed expressed their concern on student radicalisation and that it drove them to make a conscious decision on the appropriate choices for textbooks, preachers, and so on. In fact, a teacher in one school in Surabaya appeared to be very traumatised by the experience of their students. The event itself was related to a report by a parent and grandparent who complained how their child no longer wanted to shake hand or talk with them, because the child believed the parent and grandparent's Islam to be wrong. In some other cities, the motive behind the choice of book is also related to the attempt to avoid "problems," especially in regards to radical books. Therefore, the choice of Islamic education textbooks in high schools has generally reflected the spirit of moderate Islam, the rejection to radicalism, and commitment to the Republic of Indonesia. Islam and Indonesia are pushed to no longer be an opposition to each other – that the two are actually inseparable. The interview we conducted to students and teachers in Pontianak also showed the same idea. Teachers have an important role in choosing the main and supporting textbooks.

In general, Islamic education textbooks used in high school are moderate books that affirm the commitment to Indonesia, promoting diversity, and are tolerant to local cultures, except for some books that contain a small

percentage of Islamism in several cities, as explained above. In addition to the two variants explained above (Islamism and alternative books), there is another variant in high school textbooks, which is a variant of books that are still reluctant to affirm their commitment to diversity, especially in regards to the relation between different religious communities. One example is *Pendidikan Agama Islam: Al-Quran Hadiths for MAdrasah Aliyah Kelas XI* (Matsna, 104). This book was found in Bogor, Bandung, Yogyakarta and other cities. For example, the explanation on Tolerance and Mingling Ethics on pages 47-66 does not mention any statement of support to establishing good relationship between an Islam community and other religious community in Indonesian contexts. A literal interpretation of Quranic verses makes this book appear reluctant to accept diversity in society, as reflected in the following statement.

> "In the verse numbers 8 and 9 of QS Al-Mumtahanah, Allah affirms that there is no prohibition for Muslims to mingle with non-muslims and to treat them well. This is only true as long as the non-muslims do not attack Islam. However, if some of them do harm the Muslim community, then such non-muslims should not be treated well (Matsna, 2014: 58)."

The textual explanation to this chapter makes celebration to diversity appears less passionate. Furthermore, this statement below could potentially ruin the attempt to build interfaith relationship in Indonesia.

> "Some things that allow us to hate on Non-Muslim are if they banish Muslim people from their home, whether directly or otherwise, or if the Non-Muslim attempts to banish Muslim people from their home. If they do not commit the above things, then Muslim people are not prohibited to make a good relationship with and treat them well." (Matsna, 2014: 58).

The lack of context in the above explanation is obviously harmful for the attempt to build interfaith relationship in this nation. There is no

explanation that affirms the importance of building a good interfaith relationship. Based on the 20-pages explanation on tolerance, the author of the book appears to limit the amount of good deed that Muslim people can show to Non-Muslim people. The diversity of religion in social relationship is still very limited. The weird thing is, after elaborating on the reluctant attitude, the author suddenly concludes the chapter with this statement.

> "We are ordered to be just to anyone. And the society is taught by Islam to show that difference in religion and belief should not be a barrier for creating harmony in the society." (Matsna, 2014: 58).

In Ambon, Surabaya, Bogor, Mataram, Banjarmasin and several other cities, those books are generally provided by the school through library or homeroom teachers. Especially in Ambon, the above book and other textbook are lent to students only during the class session, since they have a limited number of book (Noor, 2017: 3). However, in several more "wealthy" schools such as SMA Siwa Lima, they have already used laptop to read book files. Those books were accompanied with a Student Workbook (LKS) which contains the same spirit and content as Kemendikbud's books. Several Student Workbook that were used are LSK IRE published by CV Graha Printama Selaras, LKS IRE FOKUS published by CV Sindunata and other similar Student Workbooks.

Unlike Islamic education books in high school that tends to be the same in most cities, intra-curricular books for Islamic education in universities tend to be diverse, including in public university. Most of those books were written by Islamic education Lecturer association in each university. This kind of case was found in IAIN Pontianak, UNAIR Surabaya, ITS Surabaya, UINSU Medan, UGM Yogyakarta, UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, IPB Bogor, Universitas Negeri Padang, Perguruan Tinggi Baiturrahmah Padang, and IAIN Ambon. In Ambon and other regions outside of Java, the books they used are Islamic education textbook published by Asosiasi

Dosen IRE Indonesia (Noor, 2017: 3).

In general, those books have strong tendency to promote moderate Islam that affirms Muslim people's obligation, as the citisen of Indonesia, to promote tolerance and accept diversity. Most of those books tend to not condemn religious understanding inappropriate for Indonesian context, although the book's authors do realise the importance of de-radicalisation. The latter finding is what makes those books can be considered as an alternative literature that contains counter-narrative for college students. The following are several examples of those book's titles and quotes.

The Islamic education book used in Socio-Political Faculty of Airlangga University, Surabaya, was written by Udji Asiyah, a senior lecturer in Airlangga University and an alumnus of IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya's Dakwah Faculty and Gadjah Mada University' Socio-Political Faculty. The book, which is titled *Buku Ajar AGI 401 Agama Islam II: Isu-Isu Aktual dan Capita Selecta Keberagamaan*, was published by the Sociology Department of Unair Surabaya's Socio-Political Faculty in 2012 and is still being produced and used to this day. The book explicitly promotes progressive Islamic ideas that fully commit to equality, democracy and civil society, affirming the spirit of the nation, supporting tolerance to diversity, whether among Muslim community or outside of it, as well as attempting to help de-radicalisation in Islamic understanding (Burdah, 2017: 10-12). The following are quotes from the book.

> "The plurality of religions, cultures, ethnicities, and nations in any society and country is a necessity. In this case, the Qur'an has long reminded the plurality of human society ... "(Asiyah, 2012: 54)." Islam provides the guidance of goodness, not only doing good to fellow Muslims, but also applies to other than Muslims. The model of religious life like this is authentically guaranteed by the Qur'an in QS al-Mumtahanah (60): 8 ... Even more than that, Islam teaches Muslims to protect places of worship for fellow believers, regardless of religion "(Asiyah, 2022: 57).

> "SARA (Tribe, Religion, Race, Inter-group) issues. SARA is mostly used for negative camIREgn or black camIREgn, because the problem is very sensitive. The SARA context can differentiate between me and you, us and them, indigenous and non-indigenous, citisen and immigrant, Muslim and non-Muslim. If not controlled, SARA can be very diametrical or oppositional in its nature."(Asiyah, 2012: 58).

> "Islam honors and gives a high position to everyone without looking at their origin, color, physical form, ethnicity and race. Islam also does not look at wealth, power, or social status. Islam only looks at the person's piety... Islam comes to liberate women from the shackles of contempt and slavery. Islam places women as noble and honorable beings, beings who have various rights and obligations. Islam forbids the abuse of women "(Asiyah, 2012: 64). "Students who later plunge into society are expected to provide enlightenment about the background of the idea of plurality in religion, intra and interreligious violence, and SARA issues. In the future, students are expected to present alternatives solutions to minimise the conflicts that occur in society "(Asiyah, 2012: 53).

> "According to Quraish Syihab, the Qur'an does not require the unification of all Muslims into a single container of statehood. The Caliphate system known until the Ottoman Caliphate was only one justifiable form, but it was not the only one. Therefore, if the development of human thought or the needs of society demands another form, it is also justified by Islam, as long as the mandated values and the elements are not against Islam "(Asiyah, 2012: 85).

The book above became an important material for the birth of newer book used in Airlangga University titled *Islamica: Penguat Karakter Bangsa*. The book was written by Islamic Education lecturer team which is also chaired by Udji Asiyah. Other names involved in the writing are Muadib Aiman, Sunan Fanani, Syifaul Qulub, dan Siti Inayah Faizah. The book's character also reflects a similar discussion with the first book, i.e. strengthening

progressive Islam, affirming Indonesianism, and tolerant to diversity. Several other explanations include the Implementation of Faith in modern Life, Law, Human Rights and Democracy in Islam, Science, Technology and Arts in Islam, Harmony in the Community and Inter-community, Civilised Society and The Community's Prosperity, Islamic Culture, and Islamic Political System, One of the author of this book, Sunan Fanani, also wrote a student textbook titled *LKS Pendidikan Agama Islam untuk Perguruan Tinggi* (Fanani, 2010). Based on an interview with the authors, the book is used as a supplement to strengthen student's commitment to moderate Islam as well as reducting the potential of radicalism that could flourish among college students.[24]

I have thoroughly read the later part of the book, which is a chapter on Islamic politic, to analyse the possibility of Islamism ideology included in the book. However, I did not find any clue that could indicate this books affiliation to ideologies of conservatism, militarism, or radicalism. In contrast, the book actually attempts to build a more substantial understanding of Islamic politics that obviously appropriate to the spirit of the nation. The key part of the book contains *fundamental principle of Islamic politics* that mentions values required in the practice of Islamic politic, which includes trustworthy, just, freedom, equality, and social responsibility (Tim Dosen Agama Islam I, 2015: 28-9). Despite a bit lacking in terms of editorial quality, I personally recommend the usage of those books for Muslim students in Indonesia. After observing books used for Islamic education, whether in high school or university in Surabaya, I conclude that those books are fully devoid of Islamism whether on the level of militant, radical, much less extreme.

Another example is the book *Pendidikan Agama Islam* (Revised 2006) that became a textbook for Islamic education in Gadjah Mada University (UGM) of Yogyakarta (Lidnillah, 2006). The book was written by Islamic

24 Interview with S. Fanani, Monday, October 16th 2017 in Socio-Political Faculty, Unair.

Education Lecturer Team of UGM that consists of 13 Islamic education lecturer of the university. Despite the strong influence of Islamism among Muslim activists, especially from Tarbiyah and Tahriri ideology, the book insofar of my observation is devoid of Islamism ideology and instead affirming moderate Islamism which includes an emphasise on Indonesian Islamic culture, which is reflected in the following statement.

> "The growth of Islam in Indonesia is processed in such a way by its missionaries through various methods both through language and culture, as in the case of the Nine Saints in Java Island. The saints were able to apply Islamic teaching through the use of local language and culture which stimulates the people to accept Islamic values by themselves. In the end, it caused Indonesian Islam to be inseparable with Indonesian local culture and tradition." (TIM IRE UGM, 2006: 252).

> "A comprehensive Islamic teaching can also be witnessed in the Eid Al-Fitr Celebration on 1 Syawwal which is celebrated together by all Muslim community in the world. However, due to the inseparable nature between Islamic teaching and local tradition, Eid Al-Fitr in Indonesia develops into a festival known as *halal bi halal* for the entirety of Syawwal month. This, in essence, is the manifestation of Islamic teaching that promotes a bond of fraternity between each other by showing hospitality to each other as if we are all a part of the same family." (Tim IRE UGM, 2006: 253).

Books with similar theme and spirit can also be found in other university such as *Islam Rahmatan Lil Alamin* (UNP Press, 2013) and *Pendidikan Agama Islam* (UNP Press, 2014), both are Islamic education textbook used in Padang State University; *Pendidikan Agama Islam untuk Perguruan Tinggi* (Fakultas Kedokteran, Universitas Baiturrahmah, 2013), *Bahan Ajar Agama: Materi Akhlak*, Baiturrahmah (2015), *Penuntun Ibadah* (Baiturrahmah, 2015) and *Islam dan Perkawinan* (Baiturrahmah, 2009), all of which are used in Baiturrahman University of Padang (Nurlaelawati, 2017: 7-8);

Pendidikan Agama Islam written by Indonesian Islamic Education lecturer association in Pattimura University of Ambon; the Islamic education textbook written by lecturer university in Mataram University of Lombok; *Menjadi perawat Dunia Akhirat* by YARSI Lombok; *Modul pendidikan Agama Islam* by UPT MPK-MPP of Unlam which is used in Lambung Mangkurat University of Banjarmasin and so on (Rafiq, 2017: 18).

In Public Islamic universities, books of Islamic studies with in-depth discussion are more dominant compared to Islamic books circulated among the general public or general university. One of the legendary book in this regard is Harun Nasution's *Islam Ditinjau dari Berbagai Aspeknya* (Nasution, 2015). This book is used as a textbook for some Islamic courses in almost every public Islamic university of many cities in Indonesia. The book discusses Islam from the aspect of theology, ritual, history and culture, politic, public institution, law, philosophy, mysticism and the revival of Islam. The book, however, does not give a specific response to the symptom of Islamism ideology in Indonesia. This is understandable as the book has actually been published since 1980s, when seeds of Islamism were only growing in several university without having huge audience. However, the book in general has displayed a more modern and rational Islamic insight. In addition to Nurcholish Madjid's books such as *Islam, Kemodernan dan Keindonesiaan* and *Islam, Doktrin dan Peradaban*, other books found or mentioned by students in public Islamic universities are *Studi Agama: Normativitas atau Historisitas?* by M. Amin Abdullah (2015). This book is actually an old book published for the first time in 1996. It was firstly published as a collection of M. Amin Abdullah's essays which have been published in magazines, journals, seminars etc. The connecting thread of the entire essay can be found in its title, which is every problem related to religion study, especially study of Islam.

Three Main Variants of Alternative Islamic Literature outside of Classroom

A hope for the future of moderate Indonesian Islam that strongly commits to Indonesian value and tolerant to diversity is still substantial at least from the strong indication of alternative Islamic texts distribution in the time when Islamist literatures are very popular in the public. These alternative texts include book that directly delivers counter-narrative to Islamism as well as book that delivers moderate Islam narrative in contrast with several Islamism ideology.

In terms of number, alternative Islamic texts are larger than the number of Islamism texts, especially for "serious" books. However, it should be noted that popular books containing subtle Islamism ideology, as explained in previous chapters, must not be ignored. Based on the explanation and report on previous chapters, these popular books that contain 'subtle' Islamism ideology has undergone significant development and gained popularity. The strong penetration of popular books with Islamism ideology must be responded even stronger, more systematically, and massively by creatively producing and reproducing popular Islamic books that contain alternative Islamic message in general and counter-narrative to Islamism ideology specifically.

Market demand is an important factor for the shift of production from "thick" Islamism books into "softer" Islamism books. The spread of Islamism ideology through strict doctrinal books has been a failure. Market pressure and the failure has driven Islamism groups in Indonesia to focus more on popular text. Through the spread of this popular books, Islamism groups have killed two birds with one stone, that is: to spread their ideology and sustain their business at the same time. These two are often intertwined in book publishing industry, including Islamism books in Indonesia. Therefore, the publishing of popular Islamism book is a solution for those groups and a challenge for moderate Muslims. The thing is, "moderate"

groups did not stay silent. Alternative Islamic texts have been produced, distributed and consumed widely in every city in Indonesia, according to our research. Based on the research report from 16 cities, the following is the early mapping for the variants of alternative Islamic texts that we manage to find.

1. Traditional Islamic Text

Traditional Islamic text refers to books commonly used for religious ritual unique to Indonesian Islam, which includes *Yasinan, Tahlilan, Dibaan, Barjani, Burdahan, Sholawatan* and so on. These types of Islamic texts were found in almost every city in Indonesia with different degree of popularity. Cities affiliated to the tradition of NU, Nahdlatul Wathan, or al-Khairat in Surabaya, Jember, Banjarmasin, Lombok, Palu and others have the highest number of this traditional Islamic book, while cities with strong Muhammadiyah culture such as Padang and Yogyakarta has a lesser number of this book (Nurlaelawati, 2017: 3). Padang is a city that has a long tradition with puritan Islamic organisation and it is expressed in the many Sharia Regional Law of Padang which includes the obligation for women to wear hijab in school and so on. Therefore, it is understandable that ritual guidebook *a la* traditional Islam is rarely found. The research team has never heard of ritual texts such as *Yasinan, Tahlilan, Burdahan, al-Barjanji*, mentioned during their interview and FGD session with students. They have also never found one in library or mosque in Padang. This is obviously different with Yogyakarta in which most of the people, especially in the suburban area, are devout of traditional Islam.

In addition, a somewhat prominent traditional text is one related to the religious tradition grew within certain region. The books used were also related to key figures of the growth of Islam in that region. For example in Mataram City of Lombok, *Hizb Nahdlatul Wathan* by Tuan Guru Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid is very popular. The *Hizb* contains

prayers compiled by the founder of Nahdlatul Wathan from Al-Quran, Hadiths, Friends of the Prophet and prayer books. The prayer includes al-Fatihah specifically read to the Prophet, his friends and so on, QS Yasin, and other *wirids* which is concluded with the chanting of Asmaul Husna (Abdul Madjid, 1962). In Banjarmasin, Mawlid books, including Burdah, al-Barjanji, etc. are very popular since the townsfolk loves to chant Mawlid together. Such atmosphere can be felt if we visit the city during the night before Friday or in Mawlid month. One of the central figure in regard of such ritual is Tuan Guru Zaini (Ijay) who will chant those *shalawats* in congregations attended by tens of thousands of people (Rafiq, 2017: 1-2). In Bogor, a similar traditional and traditional text written in the combination of Arabic, Bahasa Indonesia, Sundanese and Javanese can be found in some pesantrens visited by the research team. In Solo, Yogya, and around, the shalawat text of Habib Syekh is widely recognised by Muslim students. The tradition of Solo Shalawat Festival was spread to other regions and nowadays has been considered as a form of resistance against the huge wave of Islamism which is quite prominent in that city.

The classical Islamic books of pesantren written in Arabic are still popular and some of its translations have been growing strongly. This is another variant of traditional Islamic book. Such books are getting necessary, not only for pesantren people, but also for other groups including Islamism groups. During our research, we found a quite large number of *turast* books for *tafsir, tasawuf, kalam* and *fiqh-ushul*. The *turast* books mentioned the most during our survey, interview and FGD session was *Fathul Qarib* (*fiqh*) and *al-Ajurumiyyah* (*nahwu*), and *tafsir Jalalain.* While the least found in libraries were tafsir books such as *al-Jalalain, Tafsir Ibnu Katsir, Ali al-Shabuni,* and other books such as *Ihya Ulumuddin*, the hadiths book of *Bulughul Maram*, Imam Malik bin anas' *al-Muwaththa'*, Ibn Rusyd's *Bidayat al-Mujtahid*, and practical fiqh books such as *Risalah Tuntutan Shalat Lengkap by Moh. Rifai,* Permulaan Fiqih: Terjemah Mabadi' Fiqih *by*

Umar Abdul Jabbar, *Fikih Sehari-hari* by Ahmad Sarwat, *Fiqh Imam Syafi'i* by Wahhah Zuhaily, and so on. Some of the latter books have even been found and read in Bali (Ichwan, 2017: 29).

There is a tendency in cities with strong traditional Islam base. Their books are generally more visible and highly consumed than other cities such as Jember, Surabaya, Banjarmasin, Lombok, Palu and so on. In cities with significant number of Tabligh congregation, such as Bogor and Palu (Fauzan, 2017: 7-9), *turats* books especially *Riyadhus Shalihin* and *Fadhail al-Amal* were also found in large number. However, most of the classical books (*turats*) are still read in areas with puritan or modern Islam, such as in Padang, where classical texts of *Bulughul maram* and *Syarah Hadits Arbain* are additional books to be read in several high school and universities. Outside of translated books, practical *fiqh* books were still found such as *Kunci Ibadah* by S. A. Zainal Abidin which was published by Toha Putra Semarang and found in Mataram (Nurlaelawati, 2017: 9; Abdin, 2001).

In addition to themes like formal ritual and turats, the research team also found traditional books that discuss the life in pesantren. Those books are mainly focused on the unique aspect of life in pesantren told in humorous tone but also provide important messages such as the meaning of *riyadhah* (struggle), patience, and the culture of debate among Islamic scholars. Example of such book is *Ngopi di Pesantren: Renungan dan Kisah Inspiratif Kiai dan Santri* which is very popular among students in Pesantren, high school, college, and also scholars in Jember (Ikhwan, 2017: 23). The book is a local book and was not found in other big cities such as Surabaya, despite being located in the same province as Jember. Yet the book has been reprinted four times in May 2016, only one year from its initial publishing (Afandi 2016). The following are several quotes from the book regarding having different opinion:

> "Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari wrote an article in Suara Nahdhatul Ulama magazine in 1926 .... He wrote, since *kentongan* is

> not mentioned in the hadiths of the Prophet, it is certainly forbidden and cannot be used as a sign for prayer time. A month later, a senior scholar in Gresik, Kyai Faqih Maskumambang, wrote a rebuttal article. The principle used in this issue is *qiyas*, or conclusions based on existing principles. On this basis, the Southeast Asian kentongan is eligible to be used as a drum to declare the time of prayer. A few months later, Kyai Hasyim was invited to attend the memorial of the Prophet's Birth in Gresik. Three days before his arrival, Kyai Faqih, who is a senior scholar in Gresik, sent letters to all mosques and mushallas to ask them to remove their *kentongan* in honor of Kyai Hashim and not to use it during Kyai Hasyim's visit in Gresik." (Afandi, 2016: 92).

Another variants of traditional Islamic book contains a defense of many Indonesian Muslim ritual such as *tahlilan, yasinan, mauled Nabi*, and etc. which have been criticised in the last two decades by the 'new' Islamic groups. One of the example is *Sunnah, Bukan Bid'ah" Meluruskan Kesalahpahaman, Menjawab Tuduhan Tentang Tahlilan, Peringatan Maulid Nabi, Tawasul* published by Penerbit Zaman (Seadie, 2017). The title itself (*Meluruskan Kesalahpahaman/Correcting Misunderstanding*) tells the book's goal to defend Indonesian Muslim rituals which have been considered as misguided or *bid'ah* by Islamist groups especially the Wahabi-Salafi. In its discussion, the book explains Wahabi group's accusal of those rituals, which is then followed by explanation of the ritual, what actually happened in practice, and then the book justifies it by mentioning Quranic verses, the Prophet's hadiths, and other Islamic literatures. The following is the author's preface in that book.

> "This book is not only meant to enrich your knowledge, but also to be a reference for Muslim community in answering this age's challenge that tends to disrespect religious ethics and norms, especially in everyday life. Due to having different perspective, people dare to call others as misguided, and even infidel. The

> word *bid'ah* whom most people associated with misguided, is always echoed and exposed through the information media. The thing is, those people they call misguided and infidel are their brothers and sisters of the same faith – they all the same Muslim." (Ahmad Seadie, 2017: 7-8).
>
> "The progress of information technology that is so fast and more easily accessible exacerbates this condition. The younger generation is the victims because they are most often associated with this modern information technology. The lack of knowledge of the basics of their *diniyah* deeds can cause them to abandon their daily *diniyah* deeds they get from their parents and teachers. As a result, they no longer want to join *tahlilan*, reluctant to read *kunut* at dawn prayer, no longer interested in attending the memorial of Prophet's birth. Even when their parents died, they forbade people to read the *Yasin* and the *adhan* in their parents' graves. Hopefully the presence of this book can help Muslims in general, and the younger generation in particular, in understanding the basics of their daily *amaliah*. That way, they are not easily influenced by whatever the accuser says (Ahmad Seadie, 2017: 8)."

These types of books were also found in many other cities such as the *Hujjah NU: Akidah-Amaliyah-Tradisi* by Muhyiddin Abd al-Shomad (2010) and *al-Jawahir al-Kalamiyyah: Tanya Jawab Ilmu Tauhid* which are mostly found in Jember and Surabaya (Jazari, 1997; Ikhwan, 2017: 24). In Surabaya such books can be easily obtained from book stores, especially in Aswaja Surabaya Bookstore.

In Jember, Surabaya, Ambon, Banjarmasin, Palu, Lombok and others, classical Islamic books are also consumed by high school and college students. Examples include *Tafsir Jalalain, al-Lu'lu wal Marjan* (Hadis Bukhari Muslim), *Tafsir Ibnu katsir, Riyadus Sholihin, Kunci Ibadah* and *Kitab Bidayatul Hidayah*. In fact, in ITS Surabaya, one of those books was read in Javanese style as in traditional pesantren although the preacher does

gave several footnotes in Bahasa. Based on the interview and FGD session with several students, these traditionalist books were consumed by students in Bogor, Surabaya, and Jember, especially during the "cultural" religious activities, whether in their house or in school. Therefore, it can be seen that those books manage to survive despite the popularity of Islamism books.

Another variant of Islamic traditional texts are the translated literatures used in pesantren. One of the book that the research team found in several cities was *Pendidikan Karakter Khas Pesantren* published by Ismart Tangerang. The book was translated from *Adabul Alim wal Mutaqlim* by KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, the founder of Nahdlatul Ulama, whose name was mentioned a lot during the FGD session in several cities. Similar to most pesantren books, this book does not speak about Islamism doctrine. This book discussed about the ethics of teachers and students in learning and educating in its chapters which include: the importance of knowledge, scholars, learn to teach, student's characters for self-development, student's character to respect teachers and so on (Asy'ari, 2017: xii).

In Lombok, a book that contains the reproduction of words of wisdom from Tuan Guru Zainuddin and his pupils were also found in large number. One of them is *Keagungan Pribadi Sang Pecinta Maulana* (Ro'fah, 2017: 24). The book contains the *shalawat* of Nahdlatul Wathan, the virtue and knowledge of the teacher, the words of wisdom spoken by Tuan Guru Zainuddin and his pupils, which is translated into Bahasa Indonesia, and then elaborated further. The following is a quote from the book.

> "Harrik yadaka turzaq is one of the wisdom of the mahfudzat (word of motivation) taught by one of his pupil namely TGH. Mahmud Yasin, QH. Allahu Yarham: move your hands with certainty, sustenance is guaranteed to be. Swinging the hand to do good thing, to do something, to meet personal needs, is a movement of high value and guaranteed of sustenance. Helping others or regular work, such as IREnting, writing, lifting weights, shouldering, plowing, gardening, opening

> books, and all activities by hand are the gestures that will give birth to sustenance." (Thohri, nd: 82).

Books translated from pesantren literatures were found in large number in many school libraries in severa cities such as the translation of Ibnu Hajar al-Atsqalani's *Bulughul Maram*, Imam Nawawi's *Riyadus al-Shalihin*, Jalaluddin al-Suythi and Jalaluddin al-Nawawi's *Tafsir Jalalain*, and many others.

Another Islamic literatures that might be included in this first category is traditional Islamic books that have been popular for a long time, such as the stories of the Prophets, stories of friends and pious person and stories of the saints especially the Nine Saints of Java. Those books were distributed into every cities in Indonesia. Even in Bali, books such as *Kisah Para Tokoh: 25 Nabi dan Rasul* by Labib MZ, *Azab Kubur* by Labib MZ, *Kehidupan Setelah Mati* by Abu Fatih al-Adnan, *10 Sahabat Dijamin Masuk Surga* (comic) by Izzah Annisa and Fajar Istiqlal, *Karakteristik Perhidup Enam Puluh Sahabt Rasulullah SAW* (translation) by Muhammad Khalid, can be found (Ichwan, 2017). The variants of traditional Islamic literatures might as well be inexhaustive. The list reported in this chapter is only some examples found in the flakes of our research report.

2. Moderate and Progressive Islamic Books

Moderate Islamic books refer to books that contain thoughts or explanations that affirm the commitment to the nation of Indonesia, strengthen acceptance to diversity, and preserve religious tradition or perspective that can tolerate local cultures. Meanwhile, progressive Islamic books refer to books that contain a discussion that affirm or promote humanitarian values such as democracy, civil society, gender equality, justice and so on. Such Islamic books have a large quantity and variants within Indonesia's literature history. However, the name mentioned the most during our interview and FGD session was Quraisy Syihab and Mustofa

Bishri. Other names such as Abdurrahman Wahid, Nurcholish Madjid, Nadirsyah Hosen, Jalaluddin Rakhmad, KH. Hasyim Asy'syari, Hamka, Syafi'i Maarif, Said Aqil Siraj, Nasaruddin Umar, Mun;im Sirry, Harun Nasution, Ulil Abshar Abddalla, Ali Asghar Engineering, Aunurofiq Dawam, Harun Natution, and Komardudin Hidayat are rarely mentioned. Nurcholish Madjid's works are important references that almost reach "cult" status among HMI students in every cities that we researched, including in Pontianak (Sunarwoto, 2017: 2) and other regions outside of Java where Muslim are minority such as in Bali (Ichwan, 2017: 30).

Books such as *Ketika Fikih Membela Perempuan* by Nasaruddin Umar, *Dahulukan Akhlak di atas Fikih* by Jalaluddin Rakhmat, and *Kontroversi Islam Awal* by Mun'im Sirry, are also read by students in Bali, Ambon, Lombok, Yogyakarta and others. The same is also true for the work of Nadirsyah Hosen, *Tafsir al-Al-Quran di Medsos* and several Hamka's books: *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijk, Di Bawah Lindungan Ka'bah* and *Tafsir al-Azhar*, all of which were recognised and read by students of many cities in Indonesia. The list of books is really long and not needed to be mentioned one by one in this short chapter.

Quraisy Syihab, the name of the most "serious" author in this research, is very recognised for his in-depth works, especially in terms of Al-Quran interpretation. *Tafsir al-Mishbah: Pesan, Kesan dan Keserasian Al-Quran* is his masterpiece. *Tafsir al-Mishbah* is the book mentioned the most, especially by students and teachers, during the FGD session in every cities, including in Ambon, Medan, Pontianak, Solo, Yogyakarta, Bogor and Banjarmasin. The book can also be found in most school libraries that we researched. The book is also the most used additional reference for Islamic education class, whether in high school or campus (Yunus, 2017: 10).

Other books that have gained widespread appropriation are *Lentera Hati; Kisah dan Hikmah Kehidupan* (Bandung: Mizan, 1994) and *Membumikan Al-Qur'an; Fungsi dan Kedudukan Wahyu dalam Kehidupan*

Masyarakat (Bandung: Mizan, 1994). In general, Quraisy Syihab's books are not direct response to Islamism, but it does give important foundation for moderate Islam that upholds Indonesian values, tolerance to diversity, as well as supporting democracy and other progressive values.

However, those books are also resisted by many groups in Indonesia in regards to the issue of Shia. In Bogor, Lombok, Padang, Yogyakarta, Banjarmasin, Bandung and others, our respondents associate Quraisy Syihab to the Shia sect. Another thing that caused Muslim students to resist Quraisy Syihab's books are the appearance of Najwa Syihab, his daughter, who does not wear hijab in her popular TV show. Najwa Syihab is widely known to be very critical, harsh, and awesome as she hosts her TV show which contributes to her huge popularity. However, her wearing no hijab in the television makes people consider her ignorant to Islamic sharia which then led to the reluctance to consume her father's works.

Meanwhile, Mustofa Bishri, the second most popular name mentioned by our respondents, is a scholar, poet, humanist and productive author. He is also known as a figure from older generation who is active in social media. He has received many appreciations for his writings that consistently defends Indonesian Islam and human rights. Among of his recognition includes a *Honoris Causa* from UIN Sunan Kalijaga and *Yamp Yap Thiam Hien* of 2017. Mustofa Bishri's works are the most mentioned and consumed by younger generations. Some of his most popular works are *Membuka Pintu Langit* and *Lukisan Kaligrafi: Kumpulan Cerpen*.[25]

Abdurrahman Wahid was mentioned quite a lot in some cities, including in Bogor, one of the centrefor the development of Islamism groups in Indonesia (Ulinnuha, 2017: 4). This figure can be said as a complete anti-thesis of Islamism. He is one of the most prominent figure in defending the moderate and tolerant Indonesian Islam, the guardian of pluralism, and the spearhead for the enforcement of democracy in Indonesia. Abdurrahman

25 Membuka Pintu Langit, Jakarta: Kompas

Wahid's gait is obviously in contrast with Islamism doctrine, whether of Salafi, Tahriri or even Tarbiyah which have been developed for many decades in Indonesia. In Jember and Surabaya, Abdurrahman Wahid's name is the mentioned in our survey, interview or FGD session. However, the research team did not obtain a more detailed information on which Abdurrahman Wahid's work is the most consumed by students, since Abdurrahman Wahid is known to have produce a large quantity of works. However, the book *Islamku, Islam Anda, dan Islam Kita: Agama Masyarakat Negara Demokrasi* is among the most mentioned (Wahid, 2006).

The three figures and others mentioned above are the most popular figure among moderate and progressive Muslim authors. However, it should be noted that their popularity is still behind popular Islamism authors such as Habiburahman El-Shiraizi (Ayat-Ayat Cinta and others), Felix Siauw (*Udah Putusin Aja*, *Yuk Berhijab* and others), Salim A. Fillah (*Lapis-Lapis Keberkahan*, *Saksikan Bahwa Aku Seorang Muslim*, *Jalan cinta Para Pejuang*, etc.), Hanum Salsabila Rais (*99 Cahaya di Langit Eropa*), Tere Liye (*Hujan*, *Pulang*, etc,), Ahmad Fuadi (*Negeri 5 Menara*), Aguk Irawan (*Haji Backpacker*), Abidah El-Khaliqiy (*Perempuan Berkalung Sorban*), Yusuf Mansur (*Kun Fayakun: Cara Cepat Merubah Nasib* etc.), Emha Ainun Najib (*Slilit Sang Kiai* etc.), Asma Nadia (Catatan Hati Seorang Istri, etc.), and many others.

Another variant of moderate Islamic books are books containing *tasawuf* or Islamic mysticism. Despite the popularity of Salafi and puritan groups who tend to delegitimise other Islamic perspectives, *tasawuf* books appear to grow significantly, especially popular *tasawuf* books. In some number of cities that we researched, the availability of *tasawuf* books is quite large, especially in Surabaya, Banjarmasin, Jember, Palu and Lombok. In Padang and Bogor, the visibility of *tasawuf* books is among the smallest. In general, students who mentioned *tasawuf* books during interview and FGD session are fewer than the availability of those books in bookstores. In most school

libraries, the visibility of *tasawuf* books are also limited compared to other Islamic books such as *tafsir, fiqh* and novel. This is obviously outside of our expectation. Among the *tasawuf* books found in school libraries are a book published by Erlangga titled *Seri Teladan Humor Sufistik: Kejujuran Membawa Sengsara* by Tasirun Sulaiman which was found in a library of one public high school in Yogyakarta. The following is a quote detailing the story of a Sufi Imam, Abu Hanifah, who mistook a mother and his son for a IREr of lovers displaying affection in public.

> "Have we ever thought of ourselves better than others? Have we been lying to ourselves and looking down at others? Have we thought negatively to others wearing tattered clothes? Have we made a prejudice to others with long hair and were tattooed?" (Sulaiman, 2005: 4).

He also quotes from Jalaluddin Rumi (1207-1273) in the beginning of his discussion.

> "My brothers and sisters, you are your thought. If you thought about rose than you are a garden of flowers. If you thought of a fire, then you are a furnace." (Sulaiman, 2005: 1).

This book also contains inspirational and englightening stories of Socrates, the great Greek philosopher, who faced death penalty in a calm manner, because he truly believes in truth. Socrates died by drinking a poison followed by cries from his pupils, wife, and even his executioners. He wrote some quotes before and after the story along with this footnote:

> "You were born crying while others around you smiling in happiness. Make them cry when you die while you are smiling in happiness… Important point: Death for someone who hold truth and honesty is not something to be afraid of. People were afraid to die because they felt they don't have enough things to welcome death. Every person should use the opportunity in life to live as best as they could so they will not cry in agony when death comes" (Sulaiman, 2005: 61-2).

The addition of *tasawuf* books in school libraries are indeed important to strengthen moderate Islamic literatures that can be accessed by students. However in Surabaya, Agus Mustofa's books such as *Menyelam ke Samudera Jiwa dan Ruh*, *Atheis Vs Tasawuf Modern* and others were among the most mentioned in our survey, interview and FGD session despite none of his books were found in the school libraries of that city. Agus Mustofa is the son of a *mursyid tarekat* in East Java. He is a former reporter and preacher who has thousands of online or offline followers, as well as an alumnus of UGM's Nuclear Engineering Department. He also made an expedition to the River of Nile and other "spiritual journeys." This unique combination is reflected in many of his "scientific" and adorable tasawuf writings. The following is a quote from his first chapter titled "The Body, Soul and Spirit."

> "The greatest secret in human life is the origin of life. This question continues to be asked in the Thousands of years throughout the human civilisation itself. And throughout that history too, the question continues to be unanswered. Every era and every generation brings out figures and opinions who seek to enlighten the mystery of life's origin. However, the answer is never satisfactory. The origin of life remains a big question mark that invites each of us to come to Him to look for the answer." (Mustofa, 2015: 2).

> "The billions of cells coordinate to form networks. The variety of tissues coordinate to form organs. The variety of organs coordinate to form the human body. The whole human body then forms an extraordinarily sophisticated and intricate coordination through the coordination of the human brain and nervous system. Thus, the command system within the human body is a combination of a command centrewithin the billions of cells of its body with a command centrein the brain and its nervous system. The perfection of one's life function is determined by the perfection of command or software spread over billions of cells to the brain tissue "(Mustofa, 2015: 51).

The book *Kisah Cinta Rabiah Al Adawiyah*, *Perawan Suci dari Basrah*, *Rabiah Al ADawiyah*, and *Sujud Cinta di Masjid Nabawi* are read by students of Padang and other cities. The Novel *Dan Dialah Dia* by Andi Bombang was mentioned in two locations in Bali, Unud and SMA al-Banna. Meanwhile, the other mysticism work by Andi Bombang, *Kun Fayakun*, was only mentioned in Unas of Bali. *Durrat al-Nasihin* and other tasawuf books in pesantren are only read by students in Jember and Surabaya and Ihya Ulumuddin was the only author mentioned by students in many cities of Indonesia. In Lombok, books reproduced from the *tasawuf* teaching of TG. Zainuddin were also found. The following is a quote from that book.

> "Wah badakne aku, angkumeq sik hadir ito isik Nabi Khidir as. Laguq ndak pisan meq becerite leq sai-sai. Parane ante kajuman laun. Ndak becerite lamun ndeq ku man mate" (Maulana, 1982). "I have been told about your presence there by the Prophet Khidir but don't you ever tell about it to anyone. I'm afraid someone will think you are being arrogant or wanting to be praised. Do not tell to anyone before I die." There is something missing from the teacing of Maulana al-Syaikh, which is the lack of an awareness that Maulana Syekh's teachings are principally a lesson of saintness. Indeed, we only have a limited knowledge about the virtue of Maulana al-Syekh yet we were not given an enlightenment from the God to believe that every invitation, teaching, mandate, order, advice and even affirmation or prayers are Maulana's teaching of his saintness." (Thohri, nd: 17).

The list of *tasawuf* books available (in bookstores) in several cities are generally quite lengthy. This can be explained by the demand of those books as the technology develops causing moral panics among Muslim community as well as a respond to the formal and conservative understanding of Islam flourishing in schools. However, their availability in school libraries are quite small compared to other "formal" Islamic books. Student's access to *tasawuf* books is mostly occurring during pesantren activities, in bookstores, through friend's recommendation, or other sources.

3. De-radicalisation Texts

De-radicalisation texts refer to texts that explicitly aimed to de-radicalise or counter Islamism of many variants including Tarbiyah, Tahriri, Salafi or others, whether of conservative, militant, radical, extreme or terrorist group. The text functions by rebutting Islamism arguments or by affirming moderate and progressive Islamic values. There is a significant difference in the quantity of de-radicalisation texts among the cities of Indonesia. In Ambon, de-radicalisation texts can be found in large quantity despite their book publishing industry is not as established as in Java cities. This is understandable, since the conflict between Muslim and Christian community have left psychological scar for both parties. Books or magazines that systematically encourage recovery of the relationship between the two communities are urgently needed. The point is, there is an urgent need in this city for books or magazines that can help rebuilding the relationship between the two parties. The other prominent finding of de-radicalisation books was made in cities affiliated to Nahdlatul Ulama. The city of Jember, Surabaya, Banjar and others give strong atmosphere for the diffusion of these de-radicalisation books. Other cities in West Java such as Bogor and Bandung were the least in terms of de-radicalisation book's quantity while other cities are generally in the median level.

In Ambon, an example of de-radicalisation that we found are Basudara Magazine and AIDA Magazine (Noord, 2017: 14).[26] The first magazine is the official magazine of the Regional Office of the Ministry of Religion in Maluku Province that discusses about religious issues in general and Maluku Province' Ministry of Religion activities. The second magazine discusses about interfaith issues. In the latest edition, the two magazines discussed a lot about the attempt to rebuild the harmonious relation between Muslim and Christian community. For example, Basudara Magazine of April-June 2016 edition reports about the Interfaith Dialogue in Pattimura University

26 Basudara Magazine, Ministry of Religion of Maluku Province, and AIDA Magazine

of Ambon on April 19th 2016. The event was attended by Muslim and Christian figures as well as students and people from Muslim and Christian community. In the report titled *Bangun Dialog Kerukunan Umat Beragama*, there is a quote from the Director of The Regional Office of Ministry of Religion in Maluku Province.

> "One of the way to maintain a harmonious life is to build an intensive interfaith dialogue. The life in Maluku cannot be sustained well without the harmonious relation between religious communities." (Basudara, 2016: 19).

Other report on that magazine was made in regards of the result of the interfaith dialogue in the last decades and how it have brought real change for the life in Maluku society, as seen in the following report titled *Maluku Rangking 3 Kerukunan Umat Beragama di Indonesia*.

> "It has been recorded in our history, how a communal conflict decade ago has ruined the harmonious relationship between the religious communities in our city. However, children of Maluku can now smile in happiness as if they just awoken from a nightmare, in order to rebuild the social order based on the principle of unity in diversity. The significant attempt made by Maluku Province' Ministry of Religion along with the local government and every elements of the society to recreate the harmonious relationship between religious communities has been successful. The people's awareness to the importance of a harmonious relationship between religious communities in this thousand-Island province has shown a positive trend as years go by." (Basudara, 2016: 11).

> "The people of Maluku has returned to their normal life by building a comfortable and secure economy, education and health institutions. One of the indicators to measure the success of religious harmony in Maluku is the active participation of every religious communities, whether in local or national events. One of the proof of success in building religious harmony in Maluku is the recognition to it. In

> 2016, this province was recognised as the region with the highest level of religious harmony. The survey result of Pusat Kerukunan Umat Beragama in 2015 released in 2016 has placed Maluku as the third most harmonious province after NTT and Bali" (Basudara, 2016: 11).

Such statement was also made by several students during the FGD session, as explained by Taher, a former Member of LDK in Unidar, Ambon, in this following quote:

> "In Maluku, there are many tribe and ethnicity as well as language, so the interfaith or inter-village relations in here is actually fine – only a few people who have problem with it and they were able to arouse their fellow villagers to rise for a conflict – so I think this conflict is not a cultural problem but only caused by certain people's ego. Therefore, the youth in Ambon have made an alliance with some Islamic and Christianity organisations in order to go to the village and educate each village in regards of interfaith harmony."

The magazines and books mentioned above were also found by the research team in many schools in Ambon, such as in Madrasah Aliyah Negeri Ambon, Madrasah Aliyah al-Falah, SMA Siwa Lima and others. Those books and magazines were in fact supplied by the local government and The Ministry of Religion in Maluku as a part of the government's key program. Ambon is indeed a special place in terms of the production of de-radicalisation texts.

In Surabaya, the Aula magazine published by the Regional Stewardship of NU in East Java also contains strong de-radicalisation contents. This magazine, in addition of being available in bookstores, were also found in other places such as the library in Unair and MAN Surabaya. This magazine represents the majority Muslim in Surabaya who have strong tendency to reject Islamism. The history of this city is a history of affirming the commitment of Muslim community through the Resolution for Jihad and

War in the Legendary Battle of Surabaya. For example, the October 2017 edition of this magazine posts a report titled "Stop Drugs and Raise Unity" which contains an interview with Asep Irfan Mujahid, the chairman of PP IPNU. The interview itself is an explicit counter-narrative for Islamism ideology. The following is a quote taken from that interview.

> "Is Indonesia currently under a threat? I say yes. I see the attempt from certain groups to threaten the unity that could potentially destroy our nation. We must remember that Indonesia is a country formed by many tribes and nations united under a collective imagination… secondly, in the context of religious life, we must be aware of the attempt to reduce tolerance in religious attitude. At this point, Muslim community as the majority is the main driver for the implementation of tolerance among religious communities. However, we all see the fact that some people are narrating Islam politically." (Aula, 2017: 14).

In Jember, activities directly aimed to counter Islamism, especially Wahabi, is conducted intensively by involving many parties including the pesantren, universities, government or the general public. The Salafi group – or referred to as Wahabi by Jember people – does have a strong influence that involves the ownership of a pesantren and university. The research team followed some of those activity and found many leaflets containing an invitation to reject radicalism by rebutting Wahabi's allegations of how Indonesian Islam is generally misguided. There is a somewhat "*aswaja panic*" atmosphere found among the Muslim community in Jember, due to the continuous attack from Wahabi groups against their traditional ritual such as *tahlilan, yasinan* etc. As the threatened party, those activities were widely implemented to contain those threats. One of the printed materials that our researcher managed to obtain was titled *Perbedaan Paham Aswaja dan Salafi-Wahabi*. Some of the differences between Aswaja and Salafi-Wahabi mentioned in that material are the allegation from Wahabi that accuses

every Aswaja practice as being misguided, including collective prayer, tolerating people from different religion, chanting Qunut during the dawn prayer, as well as traditional rituals like *yasinan, tahlilan* and *maulid Nabi*. According to the leaflet, all of those ritual was made and preserved by the *Ahli Sunnah wal Jamaah* and conducted by the majority of Jember people. Other differences included in that leaflet is how Wahabi people call fellow Muslim as infidel, while *Ahli Sunnah wal Jamaah* attempts to Islamise the infidel.[27] The whole content of that leaflet contains a debate between the Wahabi and Aswaja regarding many aspects, from faith to social problems, which in turns points out the weakness of Wahabi arguments in their attempt to call fellow Muslim in Indonesia as an infidel. The following are quotes taken from that leaflet.

> "Wahabi: Why would you call us, the Wahabi (Salafi), as a misguided sect, and not *ahlus Sunnah wal Jamaah* when we do refer to the same *kutubus sittah*?
>
> Sunni: Actually we are only responding to your allegation. You were the one who always call other people as misguided when your teachings are the misguided one.
>
> Wahabi: In what way we are misguided?
>
> Sunni: We believe that Wahabi teachings are misguided in so many ways. For example, they were made based on a misguided conception of *tauhid*, which divides tauhid into three aspects.
>
> Wahabi: How can you judge our three aspects of *tauhid* as misguided? What is your basis?
>
> Sunni: Let me explain, the divide of *tauhid* into three aspects: *uluhiyyah, rububiyyah*, and *asma wa sifat* has never been stated by anyone before Ibnu Taymiyyah. The Prophet has also never stated that there are two kinds of Tauhid in Islam and that you would not be a Muslim before commiting to *tauhid uluhiyyah*.

27 "Perbedaan antara Ahli Sunnah wal Jamaah dengan Salafi-Wahabi," *Konferensi tokoh Warga Melawan Radikalisme dan Terorisme di Jember*, Sunday, October 15th 2017, in IAIN Jember Auditorium.

> The Prophet has also never made any implicit comment that could lead to such conclusion."[28]

In Surabaya, Yogyakarta, and other cities, we found the book *Catatan Hitam Hizbut Tahrir* by Mohammad Nuruzzaman. As stated in its title (The Dark Side of Hizbut Tahrir), the book is aimed to destroy Hizbut Tahrir's arguments while also showing how dangerous that ideology is for the future of Indonesia and the world. As such, the book explores the dark side of this group within the history, such as the case of their failed *coup d'ětat*, terrorist and violence act, and others, including the ban of this group in many Muslim countries. The most important problem concerning this group, according to the book, is their uncompromised ideology to establish a global Islamic caliphate.

> "In order to realise their dream, Hizbut Tahrir wants to change every country in the world into a one country under one system of governance, the caliphate. This international political party born from the idea of Taqiyuddin al-Nabhani (1909-1977) attempts to revolutionise every political system in the world by legitimizing Islamic caliphate. Hizbut Tahrir has an ambition to conquer the entire world to direct the entire Muslim community into a fight against the infidelity (read: democracy)" (Nuruzzaman: 2017, 9).

> "Do not even think that HTI will accept the Republic of Indonesia because they are a part of an international network. They might conduct the same prayer as us, but they have a way too different perspective on statehood. (Dr. (HC) KH. Hasyim Muzadi, former Chairman of PBNU"), (Nuruzzaman, 2017:5-6).

This book was published in Surabaya and many copies of it were found in Surabaya and other cities. During the interview and FGD session to

28 Leaflet *Membedah Tauhid Wahabi, Konferensi tokoh Warga Melawan Radikalisme dan Terorisme di Jember*, Ahad 15 oktober 2017, in IAIN Jember auditorium.

dakwah activist in campus or Rohis, the idea of caliphate is indeed not popular in this city and other cities such as Jember, Banjarmasin etc. Some of them did not even recognise Islamism lingo such as *ghazwul fikri, wala* and *bara'* and so on. This is different with the interview in Bogor which shows that the majority of dakwah activists in this city agrees to the idea of establishing caliphate, although some Tarbiyah activists criticise that idea as "too radical." Those Tarbiyah students agree with the idea of establishing caliphate through a gradual process, from the smalles unit in family level, school, regional, to state level and then global level. In Yogyakarta, Solo, and other regions, the idea of establishing caliphate system also gains a limited affirmation from students.

The book *Doktrin Wahhabi dan Benih-Benih Radikalisme Islam* by Nur Khalik Ridwan was also found in a library of a public high school in Yogyakarta. The book title (Wahabi Doctrine and Seeds of Radical Islam) has already reflected a strong counter-narrative against Salafi-Wahabi ideology that flourishes in Indonesia. The book accuses Wahabi as the source of bad practice within Muslim community, such as the practices of calling others as infidel and such. The following is the preface from the book's editor.

> "According to this book, the practices of some religious group to call others as infidel and conduct violence in the name of religion, to same degree, is actually caused by the Wahabi movement" (Ridwan, 2009: 2).

The most interesting book to be discussed in this chapter is titled *Katanya Pacaran itu Haram Ya? Putusing Nggak Ya?* (*They Said Dating is Forbidden? Should I Break Up?*) by Edi Akhiles, a doctoral candidate in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Islamic Studies Department, which was found in Mataram (Ro'fah, 2017:25). This book is a creative counter-narrative to Felix Y. SIauw's book, *Udah Putusin Aja* (*Let's Break Up*). As have been established, Felix is known for his popular Islamism books that promotes

Tahriri ideology, which is the establishment of global caliphate. Popular Islamism books, such as Felix's works, are the hardest to contain since it can attract a wide range of readers. Edi Akhiles' book is an important work since it responds to Felix's popular book by using a popular method as well. The book's easy to digest explanations, along with its colorful design and creative choice of fonts seem to be intentional to grab the attention of Felix Siauw's fans. The following are some statements taken from that book.

> "Ever since December 2013, I have posted a blog about Islamic legal study which discusses on whether or not we can say Merry Christmas, which garners controversy. I have also read Felix Y. Siauw's *Udah Putusin Aja!* even though he probably doesn't know me (eeek). My passion is getting stronger after I read the book *Halaqah Cinta*. The two books have similar conclusion "Dating is forbidden." I have many friends whom I know to be a devout Muslim who consistently prays five times a day, and currently in a serious relationship. I am very concerned with this condition. On one hand, I know that they are a devout Muslim but due to Felix' book and *Halaqah Cinta* they were judged as people who have strayed away from Islamic teachings – simply because they are having pre-marital relationship" (Akhiles, 2014: 5-6).

> "Honestly, when it comes to love to the opposite sex, Older people are just the same with younger people who love *side-seeing*. There is nothing wrong with love anyway, it is very humane. I believe that people who have no love in their heart are the abnormal one. Isn't life is just better like the color of rainbow with love in our heart?" (Akhiles, 2014: 12).

The counter to Felix's work in this book is not to his Islamism ideology. However, the popular method that this book employs to counter popular Islamism authors should be an important example in an attempt to de-radicalise and suppress the influence of Islamism popular books.

Conclusion

The discussion in the previous chapters of this book has shown that the danger of Islamism ideology or transnational Islamic group in Indonesia is not as big as many groups have perceived, although the penetration of their literatures have indeed gaining widespread public acceptance since the Reformasi. In general, schools and universities in our research location already have strong resistance to the penetration of Islamism, although each city have a different degree of resistance. For example, Surabaya, as the headquarter of Nahdlatul Ulama and the city that truly reflects our nation's spirit in their Battle of Surabaya, have stronger resistance to Islamism compared to the more vulnerable Bogor. The discussion in this chapter has provides additional evidence that Islamism of many variants in Indonesia have garnered oppositions and pressures that forced them to adapt with the local context of a democratic and plural Indonesia.

The simple explanation in this chapter, although still very early, has also indicates a bright future for the moderate Indonesian Islam that tolerates plurality, strongly commits to the nation, upholds democratic values and other progressive values, as well as friendly to local cultures. Although, it should be noted that the threat of Islamism ideology remain exists.

As an early attempt of mapping, literatures that give a hope for the future of Indonesian Islam can be mapped into three main variants: traditional Islamic literatures, moderate and progressive Islamic literatures, and de-radicalisation texts. These literatures are not only long-lasting, but also keep on developing. If those literatures can be delivered creatively based on the preference of the millennials, then it will give significant impact for the future of Indonesian Islam.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusion: The Failure of Jihadism Within the Millennials

Noorhaidi Hasan

The vulnerability of Indonesian youth, especially students, to radicalism, extremism and terrorism is closely related to their uncertainty in dealing with structural problems and the future. The expansion of communication technology triggered by the rise of of the internet has collapsed spatial and social distances, which eventually increases their uncertainty. The impact of this change is obviously felt by the millennial generation. Born in the last 25 years, they grew under the dominance of digital culture that intersects closely with the spread of instant consumption patterns and lifestyles. This generation is used to simplifying the complexity of this world into their easily-clickable smartphones that can find practically anything they need. Frustration can be easily encountered when the virtual world is often different from the realities they face on day-to-day basis.

In this very uncertain situation, millennial generations have to deal with the massive influence of Islamist ideology that offer them hopes

and dreams about change. Built upon narratives that put emphasise on the return to the fundamental basic of Islam and the virtue of early generation of Muslim, they attempt to put a distance and demarcation between Islam and the open society which is depicted as being full of sin, infidelity and westernisation. The failure to put such distance is often claimed as the cause for the downfall of Muslim community compared to the political, economic and cultural domination of the secular West. Islamic Empire is echoed as the key to return Islam's glory. Despite being utopic, Islamist ideology is apparently attractive due its capability in offering a 'coherent' and 'effective' reading on the many contemporary issues as well as framed in a way that represent marginalised people in a fight against the unjust.

The role of Islamic literatures in the flourishing Islamist ideology among students is very significant. In general, Islamist ideology infiltrates through religious reading books that is used by students. In fact, literatures that offer Islamist ideology – centered on the demand of total implementation of Islamic value in every aspect of life that leads to a desire to replace the entire democratic system of nation-state by using violence, if necessary – is very prominent in high school and college environment in Indonesia. The main target is obviously students who are perceived as a potential recruit that can sustain the further spread of the ideology. Many Islamist books, references, and magazines are easily accessible to them, offering them a world view on Islam and the world. In terms of their contents, approach, ideological orientation and proposed narrative, those books can be categorised into Jihadi, Tahriri, Tarbawi, Salafi and Popular Islamism books.

Those literatures were produced by many publishers who are affiliated to Islamist organisation that flourishes in many cities of Indonesia. Solo is the city with the most active publishers for Islamism literature, followed by Yogyakarta, Jakarta and Bogor. In this context, the role of agency should not be ignored. There is a parallel relationship between the growth of Islamism

literature production in a city and the growth of Islamism movement in that city.

Solo is the main host for many publishers and bookstores such as Jazera, Arafah, Aqwam, Al Qowam, and Gazza Media, which have connection with Pesantren Al-Mukmin Ngruki and which are active in producing jihadism books in Indonesia. Era Adicita Intermedia publisher who often publishes Tarbawi books is also headquartered in Solo. The same is also true for Al-Ghuroba, Zamzam, and al-Qalam that all publishSalafi books. The counterparts to Salafi Publishers does exist in other cities, such as Al-Qamar Media (Yogyakarta), Pustaka Ibnu Umar (Bogor), Pustaka Pustaka At-Taqwa (Bogor), Darul Haq (Jakarta) Pustaka Imam Adz-Dzahabi (Bekasi), Pustaka Imam asy-Syafi'i (Bekasi), and Risalah Ilmu (Cibubur). Meanwhile, Yogyakarta has the Pro-U Media publisher that is connected to the Jogokaryan Mosque known to be active in producing Tarbawi literature of many genres, including the popular ones. In Jakarta and Bogor there are Al-Fatih Press and Khilafah Press, both of which are active in producing Tahriri books. In other cities, including those outside of Java, sometimes there are local publishers that procure works written by local authors and distribute them to limited audience.

From the publishers mentioned above, Islamism literature reach the millennials through the help of intermediate actors that include distributors, agencies, shop owners, merchants, organisers of book discussions and book fairs, figures of Islamic movement, and missionary activists. They distribute Islamic books through networks of distribution agents and certain bookstores that display them on their strategic book shelves. Periodically, networks of agents, distributors, merchants and bookstores will hold an Islamic Book Fair to attract wider audience. Within those book fairs, visitors will be able to access, not only the books they want to buy, but also the many events of book launching and discussion as well as meet-and-greet or talkshow sessions with the authors.

The development of digital culture has shift the consumption pattern

of the millennials in consuming Islamic literatures--from printed books to online books. Nowadays, they prefer to access Islamic texts through the internet. Many of them also access those texts through the apps in their smartphone, such as Facebook, Instagram, Youtube, Line and Whatsapp. In understanding this shift, many publishers began to produce digital Islamic literatures, although they still produce the printed version.

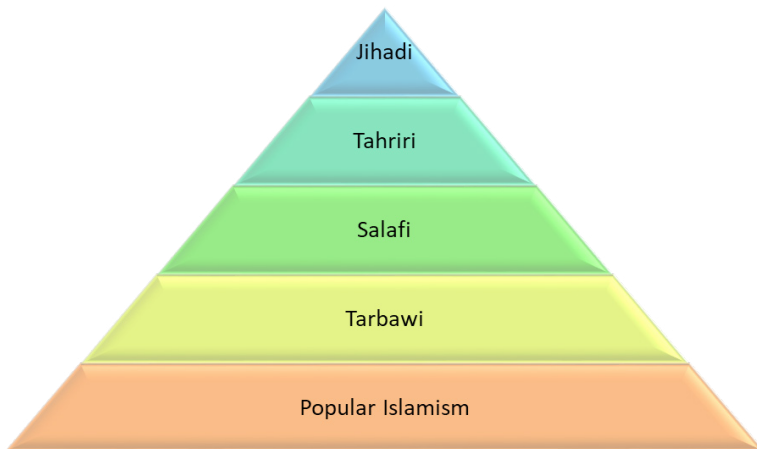
In order to market their products, many distribution agencies and bookstores are not reluctant to collaborate with Rohis and LDK activists who are responsible to organise Islamic mentoring, Islamic study groups, *halaqah*, *daurah*, *liqa'*, *mabit* and other Islamic activities. The demand from LDK and Rohis students to Islamic literatures is quite high due to their programs that are mostly accompanied with the obligation to master several key Islamic literatures. Some members are even encouraged to read at least 5 pages a day. Many students are happy to learn about religion through mentoring or *liqa'* and *halaqah* methods, due the capability of the *murabbi* to better communicate with their mentees – often informally. The high demand from students to certain books certainly encourages Rohis and LDK activists to organise book discussions featuring book authors.

In response to the widespread popularity of Islamism literature with its many variants, the government through its ministry has made several breakthroughs, including the publication of a standardised Islamic education textbook for high school students titled *Pendidikan Agama Islam dan Budi Pekerti*. Based on the 2013 curriculum, the book attempts to present a more "moderate-progressive" Islamic material by emphasising on character education. Although some of its contents are a bit vague, such as regarding figures of Islam's revival and gender equality, the messages about tolerance and anti-radicalism and anti-violence are very prominent. This book became the main reference for many high school students in Indonesiawho are no longer attracted to classical Islamism texts such as the works of Hasan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, Abul A'la al-Mawudid and Ayatullah Khomeini. In

Madrasah Aliyah, the situation is not much different. The books used as the main textbooks for class sessions are mainly published by the Ministry of Religion whose goal is "to preserve the peace and harmony among religious communities," as stated by the Director General of Islamic Education in the books' prefaces. However, there are still some gap between dreams and reality. The chapter "How Beautiful My Life is if We are All Tolerant to Each Other," for example, although it quotes many verses and hadiths that support tolerance, it still appears to be emphasising on the risk of building interfaith relations. The problem regarding caliphate is also discussed in the twelfth-grader fiqh books in order to enrich the student's knowledge of history. The emphasis is still on the historical aspect of the caliphate system; this certainly will be a problem for students who are not equipped with adequate explanation and contextualisation.

A different picture can be observed in regards to the book *Pendidikan Agama Islam Bagi Mahasiswa* published by Kemenristek-Dikti (2016) that provides topics of how human develops their faith to God, how the religion guarantees happiness, a perfect human, a Quranic paradigm, contextualizing Islam in Indonesia, how Islam builds unity and diversity, how Islam faces the challenges of modernisation, the role and function of campus mosques in the development of Islamic culture, as well as *zakat* and taxes. However, the book, which is officially distributed by the Director General of Learning and Student Affairs of Kemenristek-Dikti, has failed to place itself as the main reference for Islamic Education courses in university level. Instead, lecturers are encouraging their students to read the lecturers' own works or modules. Otherwise, students will seek classical Islamic books available in the market, such as *Dasar-Dasar Agama Islam: Buku Teks Pendidikan Agama Islam dan Perguruan Tinggi Umum* by Zakiah Daradjat, et al. (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang), *Pendidikan Agama Islam: Upaya Pembentukan Pemikiran dan Kepribadian Muslim* by Muhammad Alim (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya), and *Pendidikan Agama Islam* by Toto

Suryana Af, et al. (Bandung: Tiga Mutiara).

Even so, the gap for Islamism literature to penetrate is still quite open, which will influence the aspiration and perspective of the students. It is still quite open not only due to the uncertain direction of Islamic education in Indonesia as well the stakeholder's lack of trust to those Islamic education books--especially in university level, but also due to its over-emphasis on morality issues and character building. The latter reason can actually increase youth's uncertainty that is exacerbated by the issue of 'moral panic' as a result of widespread promiscuity, misuse of drugs and other youth-related antics. They will then attempt to hide behind a fortress in order to plunge deep in Islamic literatures which give strong messages about moral decadence in the community as a result of secular western culture expansion or contemporary world that is depicted as a sinful place filled to the brim with *bid'ah* and infidelity, which can only be dealt with by applying Sharia. Otherwise, they will look for literatures with a lighter ideological tone but still emphasise on character building, morality and piety. This is where literatures of Jihadi, Tahriri, Salafi, Tarbawi, and Popular Islamism found an entrance to infiltrate the mind of students.

The Pyramid of Islamic Literatures' Hierarchy

Although very limited in number and scope, Jihadi literature – which depicts the world as constanly being in a total war due to the ignorance to the absolute divine sovereignty and thus requires the Muslim community to wage jihad wherever they are – is a significant part of the map of Islamic literatures in Indonesia. Among the most popular jihadi books are *Tarbiyah Jihadiyah* by Abdullah Azzam and *Jihad Jalan Kami* by Abdul Baqi Ramdhun. The two books were published by Jazera and Era Intermedia, both were a publisher headquartered in Solo. In addition to the two books, *Kepada Aktivits Muslim* by Najih Ibrahim and published by Aqwam in Solo is also accessed and read by some students in several cities of Indonesia.

The Tahriri literature follows suit and is successful – in a wider scope than jihadi literature – to spread their influence among students. The idea of caliphate revival, emphasised by those literatures as a method to return to the glory day of Islam, seems to be effective in convincing students that the uncertain situation they experienced was the result of an unjust system. Example for this type of literature includes the translated version of Taqiyuddin an-Nabhani and Abdul Qadim Zallum's books.

Recently, Hizbut Tahrir activitsts or their symphatisers have managed to adopt and appropriate Tahriri ideas into a more simple and appropriate languages relatable to the Muslim youth these days. Some of the example includes Felix J. Siauw's books. He is a popular author and ustadz who have many youth followers and very active in social media. Two of his books, *Beyond the Inspiration* and *Muhammad Al-Fatih 1453*, which was published by Al-Fatih Press, have been read and distributed in Islamic mentoring groups wheter in high school or university level. The two books also inspire a young author by the name of Sayf Muhammad Isa to write a trilogy novel titled *The Chronicles of Draculesti* that presents Al-Fatih as a hero who fights against darkness in the Europe. The appearance of this novel is a sign for the dynamic intersection between global pop cultures and Islamism ideas.

Salafi literature has also garnered significant attention among students,

even more prominently than Tahriri literature. Salafi literature is attractive to the students since it is able to create a demarcation between the contemporary world depicted as being filled to the brim with sin and infidelity and the ideal world believed to provide salvation and certainty. Those books also offer a foundation to claim an identity and authenticity in practicing religion, since it has strong reference to Islam's main sources of information. Examples of Salafi literature aimed at students are the translation of Aidh al-Qarni's books, such as *La Tahzan* and *Pelajar Berprestasi*, both were published by Qisthi Press. The more classical Salafi literature, such as the works of Ibnu Qayyim al-Jauziyah, or even the more contemporary Salafi literature written by Nasir al-Din al-Albani and Muhammad Salih al-Usaimin, are also widely circulated among students.

Compared to Salafi literature, Tarbawi books that have a mission to spread the ideology of Muslim Brotherhood – who desires for a change to the established political system – are more widely accepted by students. The growth of Tarbawi literature in Indonesia is aligned with the development of Tarbiyah movement in universities that transformed into a political party (PK-PKS) during late 90s. Meanwhile, early Tarbiyah literature includes translated works written by Muslim Brotherhood figures, such as Hasan Al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, and Sayyid Hawwa. Especially during the 1980s and 1990s, these books were well circulated and read by students who were active in study groups and *halaqah* in campus. In today's context, the most consumed Tarbawi literature are books that appropriate the ideological missions of al-Banna, Qutb and Hawwa into messages of a gradual change, namely by first planting morality and commitment to Islamic practices. Examples include Salim A. Fillah's work; *Jalan Cinta Para Pejuang, Saksikan Aku Seorang Muslim,* dan *Dalam Dekapan Ukhwah* and Solikhin Abu Izzudin's work titled *Zero to Hero: Mendahsyatkan Pribadi Biasa Menjadi Luar Biasa* and *New Quantum Tarbiyah: Membentuk Kader Dahsyat Full Manfaat.*

It is important to be noted that while Tahriri, Salafi and Tarbawi literatures were able to gain audience to some degree, jihadism literature appears to fail significantly. Though still quite available, its influence is limited to groups that interact intensively with Jihadis movements or institutions. This is due to the fact that Jihadi literature is offering a black and white choice to the youth and force them to follow their dangerous code of ethics. The attempt by the government to wage wars against terrorism, supported by the power of civil society, has definitely contributed to the failure of Jihadi literature's expansion. More importantly, Salafi figures have also made some books that delegitimise Jihadi ideology. One example is Lukman Ba'abduh's *Mereka adalah Teroris,* which was written as a response to Imam Samudra's justification for the Bali Bombing.

In dealing with the widespread influence of Islamism literature, the millenials appear to be capable of selecting, adapting, and appropriating it due to their consumption culture. They are not easily swayed by certain ideological influence, especially those ideologies who force them to choose between a black and white decision. Instead, students are seeking literature that can understand their desire and cultural identity, as well as that which offers solutions to their daily problems and ways to build confidence in facing today's challenges.

It is within this context that popular Islamic books and magazines that contain themes of everyday life are gaining acceptance among students. Its influence is the most widespread compared to the Islamism literature mentioned above. Despite being inserted with ideological messages, popular Islamism literature can deliver those messages in an easy-to-digest and trendy language; morevoer, it can also offer practical guidance for the Muslim community in dealing with their problems (*ready-to-use* Islam). This kind of literature is presented in genres of fiction, popular writing and comics. They provide short narratives in simple languages without patronizing, and are accompanied with attractive illustrations. As such,

they can easily penetrate the millennials's mind since they can answer their dilemmas and problems.

Books categorised as popular Islamism are very diverse, from novels like *99 Cahaya di Langit Eropa: Perjalanan Menapak Jejak Islam Eropa* by Hanum Salsabiela Rais; *Ayat-ayat Cinta*, *Ketika Cinta Bertasbih, Api Tauhid* by Habiburrahman el-Shirazy; *Negeri 5 Menara* by A. Fuadi; and some Tere Liye's works like *Hapalan Shalat Delisa*, to motivational books like *La Tahzan for Hijabers* by Asma Nadia, *La Tahzan Untuk Para Pencari Jodoh* by Riyadus Shalihin Emka, *La Tahzan for Jomblo* by Nasukha Ibnu Thobari and *Man Shabara Zhafira: Success in Life with Persistence*, by Ahmad Rifai Rif'an. Felix Siauw's works are also significant, such as *Udah Putusin Aja!* and *Yuk Berhijab!*, which are categorised into popular Islamism literature. The same is also true for Sayf Muhammad Isa's *The Chronicles of Draculesti,* which was inspired by Felix Siauw's *Beyond the Inspiration* and *Muhammad Al-Fatih 1453*. The existence of the novels that present Al-Fatih as the hero who fights against the darkness in Europe shows a very dynamic intersection between global pop culture and Islamism ideas.

It should be underlined that, although Islamism literature is continuously produced in many genres, moderate Islamic texts also persist and continue being developed. In responding to the widespread influence of alternative Islamism, Indonesian Muslims are able to produce alternative Islamic books. These alternative texts include Islamic textbooks that revitalise mainstream Islamic teaching, if not traditional, moderate and progressive Islamic books, and counter-narrative books made for de-radicalisation program. As such, the hope for the future of moderate Indonesian Islam, which strongly commits to Indonesian values and is friendly to diversity, is still reliable at least by looking at the widespread distribution of alternative Islamic texts amidst the onslaught of Islamism literature in Indonesia's public space.

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Islamic Literatures Of The Millennials

Transmission, Appropriation, and Contestation